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THE METHOD OF TEACHING and STUDYING THE BELLES LETTRES;

OR,

An Introduction to LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORICK, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICKS, &c.

WITH

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By Mr. ROLLIN,

ate Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

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BOOK IV.

OF HISTORY.

The INTRODUCTION.

' is not without reaſon that [a] Hiſtory has always een conſidered as the light of ages, the depoſi- ory of events, the faithful evidence of truth, ource of prudence and good counſel, and the of conduct and manners. Confined without it to ounds of the age and country wherein we live, hut up within the narrow circle of ſuch branches owledge as are peculiar to us, and the limits of wn private reflections, [b] we continue in a kind of cy, which leaves us ſtrangers to the reſt of the l, and profoundly ignorant of all that has pre- l, or even now ſurrounds us. [c] What is the number of years, that make up the longeſt life, iat the extent of country which we are able to 's or travel over, but an imperceptible point in ariſon of the vaſt regions of the univerſe, and

[a] ſtoria teſtis temporum, lux is, vita memoriæ, magiſtra iuncia vetuſtatis. Cic. lib. rat. n. 36.

[b] ſcire quid antea quam na- acciderit, id eſt ſemper eſſe . Cic. in Orat. n. 120.

[c] rram hanc cum populis ur- ie . . . puncti loco ponimus, verſa referentes : minorem em ætas noſtra quam puncti i tempori comparetur omni. Senec. de conſ. ad Marciam, cap. 20.

Nullum ſeculum magnis ingeniis cluſum eſt, nullum non cogitationi pervium. Id.

Si magnitudine animi egredi humanæ imbecillitatis anguſtias libet, multum per quod ſpatiemur temporis eſt. . . . Licet in conſortium omnis ævi pariter incedere. Id. de brev. vitæ, c. 14.

the long ſeries of ages, which have ſucceeded one another ſince the creation of the world? And yet all we are capable of knowing muſt be limited to this imperceptible point, unleſs we call in the ſtudy of hiſtory to our aſſiſtance, which opens to us every age and every country, keeps up a correſpondence betwixt us and the great men of antiquity, ſets all their actions, all their atchievements, virtues, and faults before our eyes; and by the prudent reflections it either preſents, or gives us an opportunity of making, ſoon teaches us to be wiſe before our time, and in a manner far ſuperior to all the leſſons of the greateſt maſters.

Hiſtory may properly be called the common ſchool of mankind, equally open and uſeful both to great and ſmall, to princes and ſubjects, and ſtill more neceſſary to princes and great men, than to all others. For how can awful truth approach them amidſt the crowd of flatterers, which ſurround them on all ſides, and are continually commending and admiring them, or in other words corrupting and poiſoning their hearts and underſtandings; how, I ſay, can truth make her feeble voice be heard amidſt ſuch tumult and confuſion? How venture to lay before them the duties and ſlaveries of royalty? How ſhew them wherein their true glory conſiſts, and repreſent to them, that if they will look back to the original of their inſtitution, they may clearly find [d] they were made for the people, and not the people for them? How put them in mind of their faults, make them apprehend the juſt judgment of poſterity, and diſperſe the thick clouds, which the vain phantom of their greatneſs, and the inebriation of their fortune, have formed around them?

Theſe ſervices, which are ſo neceſſary and important, can be rendered them only by the aſſiſtance of hiſtory, which alone has the power of ſpeaking freely to them, and the right of paſſing an abſolute judgment up-

[d] Affidu's bonitatis argumentis probavit, non rem publicam ſuam eſſe, ſed ſe reipublicæ. Senec. de Clem. lib. 1. cap. 19.

on

on the actions of princes, no leſs than fame, which [e] Seneca calls *liberrimam principum judicem.* Their abilities may be extolled, their wit and valour admired, and their exploits and conqueſts boaſted; but if all theſe have no foundation in truth and juſtice, hiſtory will tacitly paſs ſentence upon them under borrowed names. The greateſt part of the moſt famous conquerors they will find treated as publick calamities, the enemies of mankind, and [f] the robbers of nations, who hurried on by a reſtleſs and blind ambition carry deſolation from country to country [g], and like an inundation, or a fire, ravage all that they meet in their way. They will ſee a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian, who were praiſed to exceſs during their lives, become the horror and execration of mankind, after their deaths; whereas Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, are ſtill looked upon as the delights of the world, for having made uſe of their power only to do good. Thus we may ſay, that hiſtory is to them a tribunal raiſed in their life-time, like that which was formerly erected amongſt the Egyptians, where princes, like private men, were tried and condemned after their death, and that hence they may learn beforehand the ſentence, which will for ever be paſſed upon their reputation. 'Tis hiſtory, in fine, [h] which fixes the ſeal of immortality upon actions truly great, and ſets a mark of infamy on vices, which no after-age can ever obliterate. 'Tis by hiſtory that miſtaken merit, and oppreſſed virtue, appeal to the uncorruptible tribunal of poſterity, which renders them the juſtice their own age has ſometimes refuſed them, and without reſpect of perſons and the fear of a power,

[e] Sen. de Conſol. ad Marciam, cap. 4.

[f] Prædo gentium levavit ſe. Jer. iv. 7.

[g] Philippi aut Alexandri latrocinia cæterorumque, qui exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quam inundatio, qua planum omne perfuſum eſt, quam conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit. Senec. lib. 3. Nat. Quæſt. in Præfat.

[h] Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes ſileantur, utque pravis dictis factiſque ex poſteritate & infamia metus ſit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 65.

which ſubſiſts no more, condemns the unjuſt abuſe of authority with inexorable rigour.

There is no age or condition, which may not derive the ſame advantages from hiſtory; and what I have ſaid of princes and conquerors, comprehends alſo in ſome meaſure all perſons in power, miniſters of ſtate, generals of armies, officers, magiſtrates, governors of provinces, prelates, eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors both ſecular and regular, fathers and mothers, maſters and miſtreſſes; in a word, whoever have authority over others. For ſuch perſons have ſometimes more haughtineſs, pride and humour in a very limited ſtation than Kings in theirs, and carry their deſpotick diſpoſition and arbitrary power to a greater length. Hiſtory therefore is of great advantage, to lay down uſeful leſſons to them all, and preſent them with a faithful mirror of their duties and obligations by an unſuſpected hand, and thereby make them ſenſible, that they are all conſtituted for the ſake of their inferiors, and not their inferiors for them.

Thus hiſtory, when it is well taught, becomes a ſchool of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the maſk from falſe virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, diſpels the deluſive charms of riches, and all the vain pomp, which dazzles the imagination, and ſhews by a thouſand examples, that are more availing than all reaſonings whatſoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity. From the eſteem and admiration, which the moſt corrupt cannot refuſe to the great and good actions, that hiſtory lays before them, it confirms the great truth, that virtue is man's real good, and alone renders him truly great and valuable[1]. This

[1] Si quemadmodum viſus oculorum quibuſdam medicamentis acui ſolet & repurgari, ſic & nos aciem animi liberare impedimentis voluerimus, poterimus perſpicere virtutem, etiam obrutam corpore, etiam paupertate oppoſita, & humilitate, & infamia objectantibus: cernemus, inquam, pulchritudinem illam, quamvis ſordido obtectam. Rurſus æque malitiam & ærumnoſi animi veternum perſpiciemus, quamvis multus circa divitiarum radiantium ſplendor impediat, & intuentem hinc honorum illinc magnarum poteſtatum, falſa lux verberet. Senec. Ep. 115.

virtue

virtue we are taught by hiſtory to revere, and to diſcern its beauty and brightneſs through the veils of poverty, adverſity, and obſcurity; and ſometimes alſo of diſgrace and infamy; as on the other hand it inſpires us with the contempt and horror of vice, though clothed in purple, ſurrounded with ſplendor, and placed on a throne.

But to confine myſelf to my own ſcheme, I look upon hiſtory as the firſt maſter to be given to children, equally ſerviceable to entertain and inſtruct them, to form their hearts and underſtandings, and to enrich their memories with abundance of facts as agreeable as uſeful[k]. It may likewiſe be of great ſervice, by means of the pleaſure inſeparable from it, towards exciting the curioſity of that age, which is ever deſirous of being informed, and inſpiring a taſte for ſtudy. Thus in point of education, it is a fundamental principle, and conſtantly obſerved in all times, that the ſtudy of hiſtory ſhould precede all the reſt, and prepare the way for them. Plutarch tells us, that Cato the elder, the famous cenſor, whoſe name and virtue brought ſo much honour to the Roman commonwealth, took upon himſelf a peculiar care in the education of his ſon, without truſting to the care of maſters, and drew up a collection of hiſtorical facts expreſly for his uſe, and wrote them over in large characters with his own hands, that the child, he ſaid, might be able from his infancy, without going from home, to become acquainted with the great men of his own country, and form himſelf upon thoſe antient models of probity and virtue.

It is by no means neceſſary that I ſhould dwell any longer upon proving the uſefulneſs of hiſtory; 'tis a point generally enough agreed on, and which few people call in queſtion. 'Tis of moſt concern to know

[k] Fatendum in ipſis rebus, quæ diſcuntur & cognoſcuntur invitamenta ineſſe, quibus ad diſcendum cognoſcendumque moveamur. Cic. l. b. 5. de fin. bon. & mal. n. 52.

what is neceſſary to be obſerved in order to render the ſtudy of it uſeful, and reaping the benefits to be expected from it. And this I ſhall now attempt to lay down.

That I may throw what I have to ſay upon hiſtory into ſome order, I ſhall divide this diſcourſe into three parts. The firſt ſhall treat of the taſte of ſolid glory and real greatneſs, and ſerve to caution youth againſt the falſe ideas which the ſtudy of hiſtory itſelf may raiſe in them upon this ſubject. The ſecond ſhall be upon ſacred hiſtory. The third upon profane. And in the laſt I ſhall ſay ſomething of fable, of the ſtudy of the Greek and Roman antiquities, the authors from whence we are to borrow our knowledge of hiſtory, and the order wherein they are to be read.

I make no mention here of the hiſtory of France, as it is but natural that ancient hiſtory ſhould precede the modern; and I ſcarce think it poſſible for boys to find time whilſt they are at ſchool, to apply themſelves to that of France. But I am far from looking upon it as an indifferent ſtudy, and am concerned to ſee it ſo much neglected as it is by abundance of perſons, to whom it might notwithſtanding be very uſeful, not to ſay neceſſary. In talking thus, I firſt of all blame myſelf; for I own I have not applied myſelf to it in the manner it deſerves, and I am aſhamed to be in ſome meaſure a ſtranger in my own country, after having travelled through ſo many others. And yet our hiſtory ſupplies us with great examples of virtue, and abundance of beautiful actions, which remain for the moſt part buried in obſcurity, either through the badneſs of our hiſtorians[1], who have wanted the talents for treating them according to their dignity, like the Greeks and Romans, or in conſequence of a bad taſte, which inclines to admire highly what paſſes at a diſtance from our own age and country, whilſt we re-

[1] Quia provenere ibi magna ſcriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem (veterum) facta pro maximis celebrantur. Salluſt. in bel. Catil.

main

main cold and indifferent to ſuch actions as paſs before our eyes and in the age we live. But though we have not time to teach youth the hiſtory of France, we ought at leaſt to cultivate a taſte in them for it, by quoting ſuch paſſages out of it from time to time, as may induce them to a farther application to it, when they ſhall have leiſure.

PART I.

Of the Taſte of ſolid Glory and real Greatneſs.

ALL the world agrees that one of the firſt cares in training up youth to the ſtudy of polite learning, is previouſly to lay down ſuch rules and principles of good taſte, as may ſerve to guide and direct them in the reading of authors. 'Tis the more neceſſary to give them this aſſiſtance in the caſe of hiſtory; which may be regarded as the ſtudy of morality and virtue; as it is of far more importance to paſs a right judgment upon virtue than eloquence, and leſs ſhameful and dangerous to be miſtaken in the rules of diſcourſe, than in thoſe of morality.

Our age, and our nation in particular, ſtand in need of being undeceived concerning a great number of miſtakes and falſe prejudices, which daily prevail more and more, upon the points of poverty and riches; modeſty and preſumption; ſimplicity of buildings and furniture; coſtlineſs and magnificence; frugality and delicacy in diet; in a word, upon almoſt every thing that is the object either of the contempt or admiration of mankind. In matters of this nature the [a] publick

[a] Recti apud nos locum tenet error, ubi publicus factus eſt. Sen. Ep. 123.

Nulla res nos majoribus malis implicat, quam quod ad rationem componimur; optima ratio ea, quæ magno aſſenſu recepta ſunt ..... nec ad rationem, ſed ad ſimilitudinem vivimus. Id. lib. de vit. beat. cap. 1.

taſte becomes a rule to youth. They look upon that as valuable, which they ſee every body ſet a value upon; and are guided, not by reaſon, but cuſtom [b]. One ſingle bad example ſhall ſuffice to corrupt the minds of youth, which are ſuſceptible of every impreſſion: What then have we not to apprehend for them, at a time when every kind of vice is the common practice, and [c] the groſſeſt paſſions perpetually buſy in extinguiſhing all ſentiments of honour and probity?

How neceſſary then is this ſcience to them [d], whoſe principal effect is to remove the falſe prejudices, which ſeduce, becauſe they pleaſe us; whoſe office is to cure, and deliver us from the popular errors we have ſucked in with our milk; to teach us how to diſcern betwixt true and falſe, good and evil, ſolid greatneſs and vain oſtentation [e], and to prevent the contagion of bad examples and vicious cuſtoms from infecting the minds of youth, and ſtifling in them the happy ſeeds of virtue and probity, which we obſerve nature to have implanted there [f]? 'Tis in this ſcience, which conſiſts in judging of things, not by common opinion, but by truth, not by a ſpecious outſide, but by real merit, that Socrates has placed all the wiſdom of man.

I have therefore thought it my duty to begin this treatiſe of hiſtory with laying down principles and rules

[b] Unum exemplum, aut luxuriæ, aut avaritiæ, multum mali facit . . . quid tu accidere his moribus credis, in quos publice factus eſt impetus? . . . . adeo nemo noſtrum ferre impetum vitiorum tam magno comitatu venientium poteſt. Sen. Ep. 7.

Definit eſſe remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores ſunt. Ep. 39.

[c] Certatur ingenti quodam nequitiæ certamine: major quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor verecundiæ eſt. Id. lib. 2. de Ira, c. 8.

[d] Sapientia animi magiſtra eſt . . . Quæ ſint mala, quæ videantur oſtendit. Vanitatem exuit mentibus, dat magnitudinem ſolidam; nec ignorari finit, inter magna quid interſit & tumida. Ep. 90.

Inducenda eſt in occupatum locum virtus, quæ mendacia contra verum placentia exſtirpet; quæ nos à populo, cui nimis credimus, ſeparet, ac ſinceris opinionibus reddat. Ep. 94.

[e] Tanta eſt corruptela malæ conſuetudinis, ut ab ea tanquam igniculi extinguantur à natura dati, exorianturque & confirmentur vitia contraria. Cic. lib. 3. de leg. n. 33.

[f] Socrates hanc ſummam dixit eſſe ſapientiam, bona malaque diſtinguere. Sen. Ep. 71.

how

how to paſs a ſound judgment upon great and good actions, to diſcern wherein ſolid glory and real greatneſs conſiſt, and to diſtinguiſh expreſly what is worthy of eſteem and admiration from what merits only indifference or contempt. Without theſe rules and precautions, young perſons, who have no other guides than their own inclinations or the popular opinions, may form themſelves upon models entirely agreeable to theſe falſe ideas, and give into the paſſions and vices of thoſe whoſe actions make a figure in hiſtory indeed, but are not always virtuous or eſtimable.

Properly ſpeaking, the Goſpel only and the word of God can preſcribe ſure and infallible rules to direct us in judging rightly of all things; and it ſeems my duty to borrow ſolely from ſo rich a ſource the inſtructions I undertake to give youth on ſo important a ſubject. But to make them the better comprehend, how blameable the errors are which I oppoſe, and how contrary even to right reaſon, I ſhall extract my principles only from heathen writers, who will teach us that what renders a man truly great and worthy of admiration, is neither riches, magnificent buildings, coſtly habits or ſumptuous furniture, neither a luxurious table, great employments or high birth, neither reputation, famous exploits, ſuch as victories and conqueſts, nor even the moſt valuable endowments of the mind [5]; but that a man owes his real worth to the heart, and that the more truly great and generous he is in that reſpect, the more he will deſpiſe what ſeems great in the eyes of the reſt of mankind. At firſt my examples were taken only from ancient hiſtory; but certain perſons of ability and underſtanding have ſince adviſed me to add others from modern hiſtory, and eſpecially that of France, and have been pleaſed to ſupply me with ſeveral themſelves, for which I take this opportunity of making my acknowledgments.

[5] Cogita in te, præter animum, nihil eſſe mirabile, cui magno nihil magnum eſt. Sen. Ep. 8. Hoc nos doce, beatum eſſe illum, cui omne bonum in animo eſt ... illum erectum, & excelſum, & mirabilia calcantem. Id. Ep 45.

But though I have taken all my principles, and most of my examples, from heathen writers, and have avoided using those of the many illustrious saints, Christianity might supply for all states and conditions, it does not follow that my design has been only to recommend virtues purely pagan. One may consider things in an human way, without considering the last end and prime inducements for pursuing them. And thus by degrees we may rise to a purer and more perfect virtue, and by becoming attentive and obedient to reason, be prepared to submit to religion and faith, which command the same duties, but upon higher motives and with the promise of far more glorious rewards.

Lastly, I desire the reader would remember, that this work is not designed for the learned, who are already well vers'd in history, and may think the great number of facts I have quoted tedious, as containing nothing new to them [h]; but that my design is principally to instruct young students, who may often have scarce any other notion of history, than what they find in this; which has obliged me to be somewhat more prolix, to produce a greater number of examples, and to add more reflections than otherwise I should have done.

L

Riches. Poverty.

[i] As riches purchase whatever is most esteemed and sought after in life, as honours, employments, lands, houses, ornaments, luxurious boards, and all the train

h Nos institutionem professi, non solum scientibus ista, sed etiam discentibus tradimus: ideoque paulo pluribus verbis debet haberi venia. Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 1.

i Hæc ipsa res tot magistratus, tot judices detinet, quæ magistratus & judices facit, pecunia: quæ ex quo in honore esse cœpit, verus rerum honor cecidit. . . . . Admirationem nobis parentes auri argentique fecerunt: & teneris insusa cupiditas altius sedit, crevitque nobiscum. Deinde totus populus, in alia discors, in hoc convenit: hoc suspiciunt, hoc sui optant. . . Denique eo mores redacti sunt, ut paupertas maledicto probroque sit, contempta divitibus, invisa pauperibus. Senec. Ep. 115.

of

of vulgar pleaſures; it is by no means ſurpriſing that theſe ſhould be more eſteemed and ſought after than all the reſt. This notion, too natural to children in itſelf, is cheriſhed and ſupported in them by every thing they ſee and hear. All tends to reſound the praiſes of riches. Gold and ſilver are the only or the principal object of the admiration of mankind, of their deſires, and labours. They are regarded as alone capable of making life eaſy and happy, and poverty on the other hand as the cauſe of ſhame and misfortune.

[k] And yet antiquity (to our great ſurpriſe) gives us an inſtance of a whole nation exclaiming againſt ſuch ſentiments. Euripides had put an high encomium of riches into the mouth of Bellerophon, which he concluded with theſe words, *Riches are the ſovereign happineſs of mankind, and 'tis with reaſon they excite the admiration of gods and men.* Theſe laſt lines provoked the whole people of Athens. They roſe up with one common voice againſt the poet, and would have immediately baniſhed him the city, if he had not beſought them to ſtay till the play was done, and they ſhould ſee this idolater of riches come to a miſerable end. A bad, a wretched excuſe! The impreſſion, which ſuch maxims make upon the imagination, is too ſtrong and lively to wait for the ſlow remedies, which an author may bring at the concluſion of his performance.

The people of Rome were no leſs noble in their ſentiments. Their ambition was to gain a great deal of glory and little wealth. Every one ſought [l], ſays an hiſtorian, not to enrich themſelves, but their country; and they rather choſe to be poor in a rich commonwealth, than to be rich themſelves, whilſt the commonwealth was poor. [m] The Camilli, the Fabricii, and the Curii, were formed, we know, in the ſchool and boſom of poverty, and 'twas uſual with their greateſt men not to leave wherewithal to defray the ex-

[k] Senec. Epiſt. 115.

[l] Patriæ rem unuſquiſque, non ſuam, augere properabat, pauperque in divite, quàm dives in paupere imperio verſari malebat. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

[m] Horat. Od. xii. lib. 1.

pences of their funerals, or to portion out their daughters.

Such alſo was the diſpoſition of our ancient magiſtrates, and we read with pleaſure in the hiſtory of the premier preſidents of the univerſity of Paris, that the famous "*John de la Vacquerie* died richer in honours and reputation, than in the goods of fortune. "For having left behind him three daughters, the "heireſſes only of his virtues, his maſter King Lewis "the XIth, in acknowledgment of his ſervices, took "care to marry them according to their condition, "and paid their fortunes out of his own treaſury."

An expreſſion of the emperor Valerian's ſhews us how much poverty was eſteemed even in the lower age of the empire. He had nominated Aurelian, who was afterwards Emperor, to the conſulſhip; and as he was poor, he ordered the keeper of his treaſury to ſupply him with all the money he ſhould want for the expences he was to be at upon his entrance into that office, and wrote to him in theſe terms [n], "You "ſhall give Aurelian, whom I have nominated con"ſul, whatever ſhall be neceſſary to defray the "charges of the cuſtomary ſhews. He deſerves this "aſſiſtance *by reaſon of his poverty, which renders him "truly great, and ranks him above all others.*"

Thus we ſee the ſentiments of the truly generous and noble, in all ages and nations. Thoſe great men were of opinion, [o] that nothing was a ſurer mark of a little abject ſpirit than the love of riches, and nothing on the other hand more great and generous than to deſpiſe them; and thought it the higheſt pitch of virtue to bear up nobly under poverty, and to look upon it as an advantage, rather than a misfortune. According to them, the ſecond degree of virtue conſiſted in mak-

[n] Aureliano, cui conſulatum detulimus, ob paupertatem, qua ille magnus eſt, cæteris major, dabis ob editionem Circenſium, &c. Vopiſc. in vita Imper. Aurel.

[o] Nihil eſt tam anguſti animi tamque parvi, quàm amare divitias: nihil honeſtius magnificentiuſque quàm pecuniam contemnere, ſi non habeas; ſi habeas, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque convertere. Cic. lib. 2. Offic. n. 68.

ing

ing a good uſe of riches, when they poſſeſſed them; and they judged it moſt agreeable to the end for which they were deſigned, and moſt likely to draw upon the rich the eſteem and love of mankind, to make them ſubſervient to the good of the ſociety. In a word, [p] they counted nothing really their own, but what they had given away.

Cimon the Athenian general, thought his poſſeſſions were given him by fortune for no other end than to be diſtributed amongſt his fellow citizens, to clothe ſome, and relieve the wants of others. What Philopemen gained from the enemy, he beſtowed in ſupplying ſuch of the citizens with arms and horſes, as ſtood in need of them, and in ranſoming ſuch of them as had been made priſoners of war. Aratus, general of the Achæans, made himſelf univerſally beloved, and ſaved his country, by applying the preſents he received from the Kings in appeaſing the diviſions, which prevailed among his countrymen, in paying the debts of ſome, aſſiſting others in their neceſſities, and redeeming captives.

To give but one ſingle inſtance among the Romans. Pliny the younger diſburſes conſiderable ſums for the ſervice of his friends. [q] He forgives one perſon all he owes him. [r] He pays the debts of another, which he had contracted for juſt reaſons. [s] He increaſes the portion of another's daughter, that ſhe may keep up to the dignity of the perſon ſhe was about to marry. [t] He ſupplies another with ſums to make him a Roman knight. [u] To gratify another, he ſells him a piece of land below its value. [w] He gives another wherewithal to return into his own country, and end his days there in quiet. [x] He makes himſelf eaſy in the

[p] Nihil magis poſſidere me credam, quàm bene donata. Senec. de vita beat. cap. 20.
Hoc habeo, quodcumque dedi. Lib. 6. de benef. cap. 3.
[q] Lib. 2. Ep 4.
[r] Lib. 3. Ep. 11.
[s] Lib. 6. Ep. 32.
[t] Lib. 1. Ep. 19.
[u] Lib. 7. Ep. 11. & 14.
[w] The poet Martial. Lib. 3. Ep. 21.
[x] Lib. 4. Ep. 10. Lib. 8. Ep. 2. Lib. 5. Ep. 7.

differences

differences of his family, and voluntarily gives up his own right. [y] He beſtows upon his nurſe a piece of ground, big enough for her ſubſiſtence. [z] He preſents his country with a library, and a revenue ſufficient to maintain it. [a] He ſettles ſalaries upon profeſſors for the inſtruction of youth. [b] He erects a ſchool for the education of orphans and poor children, of which there are ſome footſteps remaining to this day. And all this he does with a moderate fortune. But his frugality, as he declares himſelf, was a rich fund, which ſupplied whatever was wanting to his revenue, and enabled him to beſtow with ſuch liberality, as is aſtoniſhing in a private man. [c] *Quod ceſſat ex reditu, frugalitate ſuppletur; ex qua, velut ex fonte, liberalitas noſtra decurrit.*

Let any one aſk the boys what they think of ſuch an example, after having compared this noble and amiable uſe of riches with the behaviour of ſuch unnatural perſons, who live as if they were born only for themſelves, who ſet no other value on riches than as the means to indulge their paſſions, to ſupport their luxury, and gratify their love of pleaſures, a vain oſtentation, or a reſtleſs curioſity; who are ſerviceable neither to their relations, their friends, nor their moſt ancient and faithful domeſticks; and who think themſelves under no obligation by the ties of blood, friendſhip, gratitude, merit, or humanity, nor even to their country.

[d] When M. de Turenne undertook the command of the army in Germany, he found the troops in ſo bad a condition, that he ſold his own plate to clothe the ſoldiers, and mount the horſe, which he did more than once. Though his eſtate amounted to no more than forty [e] thouſand livres a year, he never would

y Lib. 6. Ep. 3.
z Lib. 1. Ep. 8.
a Lib. 4. Ep. 13.
b Lib. 1. Ep. 8.
c Lib. 2. Ep. 4.

d Hommes Illuſtres de M. Perrault.

e When he died, he had not fifteen hundred livres by him in ready money.

accept

accept of the conſiderable ſums his friends offered him, nor take up any thing on truſt from the tradeſmen, for fear, he ſaid, that if he fell, they ſhould loſe a good part of it. And I know that all the workmen, employed about his houſe, were ordered to bring in their bills before he ſet out for the campaign, and were regularly paid.

[g] Whilſt he commanded in Germany, a neutral town, which thought the King's army was marching towards them, offered this general an hundred thouſand crowns, to engage him to take another rout, and make amends for a day or two's march, which it might coſt the army more. *I cannot in conſcience*, anſwered M. Turenne, *accept of this ſum, for I had no intention to paſs by the town.*

The action of the great Scipio in Spain, when he added to the portion of a young captive Princeſs the ranſom her parents had brought to redeem her, gained him no leſs honour than the moſt famous of his conqueſts. A like action of the Chevalier Bayard merits no leſs praiſe. [h] When Breſſe was taken by ſtorm from the Venetians, he ſaved a houſe from plunder, whither he had retired to have a dangerous wound dreſt, which he had received in the ſiege, and ſecured the miſtreſs of the family, and her two daughters, who were hid in it. At his departure the lady, as a mark of her gratitude, offered him a caſket containing two thouſand five hundred ducats, which he obſtinately refuſed. But obſerving that his refuſal was very diſpleaſing to her, and not caring to leave her diſſatisfied, he conſented to accept of her preſent, and calling to him the two young ladies to take his leave of them, he preſented each of them with a thouſand ducats to be added to their portion, and left the remaining five hundred to be diſtributed among the inhabitants that had been plundered.

But that we may have the better notion of the nobleneſs and greatneſs of a diſintereſted mind, let us

[g] Lettres de Bourſault. [h] Vie du Chev. Bayard.

conſider

conſider it, not in Generals and Princes, whoſe glory and power may ſeem perhaps to heighten the luſtre of this virtue, but in perſons of a lower rank, who have nothing about them but the virtue itſelf to raiſe our admiration. A poor man, who was door-keeper to a boarding-houſe in Milan, found a purſe with two hundred crowns in it. The man who had loſt it, informed by a publick advertiſement, came to the houſe, and giving good proof that the purſe belonged to him, the door-keeper reſtored it to him. The owner full of joy and gratitude, offered his benefactor twenty crowns, which the other abſolutely refuſed. He then came down to ten, and afterwards to five. But finding him ſtill inexorable, he throws his purſe upon the ground, and in an angry tone, *I have loſt nothing*, ſays he, *nothing at all, if you thus refuſe to accept of any thing.* The door-keeper then accepted of five crowns, which he immediately diſtributed among the poor.

I have heard a lieutenant-general in the King's army ſay, that upon a certain occaſion, when the ſoldiers were buſy in ſtripping the bodies of the ſlain, the commanding officer, to encourage them to purſue the enemy, and at the ſame time make amends for their loſs, threw down among them forty or fifty piſtoles, which he had in his pocket. The greateſt part of them refuſed to ſhare in this liberality, and thought it would diſhonour them to want preſents for doing their duty, and ſerving their King. The late M. de Louvois, being informed of this action, highly commended them, gave each of them a ſum of money in ſight of the army, and took care to advance them as occaſion offered.

Whoever reads ſuch ſtories as theſe cannot but be ſenſible of the impreſſion they make upon his heart. Let us then compare ſo noble and generous a conduct with the low ſentiments of abundance of perſons, who ſeem to regard and value nothing in the great places they enjoy, but the opportunity to enrich themſelves with eaſe, and we ſhall not ſcruple to conclude with

Tully,

Tully, that there is no vice ſo infamous, eſpecially in perſons of rank and office, as avarice. [i] *Nullum igitur vitium tetrius quam avaritia, præſertim in principibus, & rempublicam gubernantibus. Habere enim quæſtui rempublicam, non modo turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum etiam & nefarium.*

This paſſion for money is a fault extremely diſhonourable to men of learning, as on the other hand nothing gains them a greater reputation, than the looking upon riches with indifference.

Seneca, after ſuch frequent and high encomiums on poverty, [k] had great reaſon to reproach himſelf for his extravagant attachment to wealth, and thoſe numberleſs acquiſitions he made of lands, gardens, and magnificent buildings, not ſcrupling the practice of the moſt enormous uſury to obtain them, and bringing a diſgrace entirely, if not upon philoſophy, at leaſt upon the philoſopher.

All that he has ſaid in one of his [l] diſcourſes in defence of his conduct, will never convince us that he had not a ſtrong inclination for riches, and that he gave them entrance only into his houſe, and not into his heart. *Sapiens non amat divitias, ſed mavult; non in animum illas ſed in domum recipit.*

I am concerned [m] that Amiot, who was ſo great an honour to learning in his age, ſhould have ſullied his glory in ſome meaſure by this ruſt of avarice. He was a poor boy, and as is ſuppoſed the ſon of a butcher, and raiſed himſelf by his merit. He was made biſhop of Auxerre, and grand Almoner of France. Charles the IXth, whom he inſtructed and brought up, always called him his maſter, and ſometimes diverting himſelf with him, would jeſtingly reproach him with his avarice. One day as Amiot was aſking for a rich benefice, *Ah! maſter*, ſays the King, *you uſed to ſay*,

[i] Lib. 2. Offic. n. 77.

[k] Ubi eſt (*addreſſing himſelf to Nero*) animus ille modicis contentus? Tales hortos inſtruit, & per hæc ſuburbana incedit, & tantis agrorum ſpatiis, tam lato fœnore exuberat? Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 53.

[l] L. de Vit. Beat. c. 17. 52.

[m] Dict. de Bayle.

that

that if you had but a thouſand crowns a year, you ſhould be ſatisfied. I believe you have that, and more. Sir, anſwered he, *my appetite increaſes with my food.* He conſtantly obtained what he aſked for; and died worth above two hundred thouſand crowns.

There is one now in the univerſity, whom I dare not venture to name, becauſe he is ſtill living, but I cannot paſs over in ſilence his noble and diſintereſted diſpoſition. After he had taught philoſophy in the college of Beauvais with great reputation, where he had been brought up as a ſcholar of the houſe, and was afterwards elected principal; at the very time he was poſſeſſed of the higheſt dignity in the univerſity, he was called to court to aſſiſt in the education of the preſent King of Spain, and has ſince had the honour of attending upon the young Monarch, now on the throne. The two courts of France and Spain have ſtrove to expreſs their acknowledgments by offering him benefices and penſions, which he has always conſtantly refuſed, alledging for reaſon, that his ſalary was more than ſufficient to ſupport him according to his ſtation, in which his different employments, how diſtinguiſhed ſoever, have never cauſed him to make the leaſt alteration.

II. *Buildings.*

We ſeldom form a right judgment of objects, that have a ſplendid outſide, and ſtrike the view by their external luſtre. There are few perſons, who hear of the famous pyramids of Egypt, without being tranſported with admiration, and extolling the grandeur and magnificence of the princes who raiſed them. And yet I queſtion whether this admiration be well grounded, or thoſe enormous piles of building, which coſt ſuch immenſe ſums, and occaſioned the loſs of ſo many men who were employed about them, and which were only intended for pomp and oſtentation [n], and

[n] Pyramides Regum pecuniæ otioſa ac ſtulta oſtentatio. Plin. lib. 36. hiſt. nat. cap. 12.

not

not for any ſolid uſe; I queſtion, I ſay, whether ſuch buildings deſerve to be ſpoke of with ſo much applauſe.

True greatneſs does not conſiſt in deſiring or doing what a diſordered imagination, or a popular error, repreſent as great and magnificent. It does not conſiſt in attempting difficult things, purely becauſe they are difficult. Nor is it affected with what ſeems wonderful, or actuated by the pleaſure of ſurmounting impoſſibilities, as hiſtory relates of Nero, with whom whatever ſeemed impracticable had the idea of grand. [o] *Erat incredibilium cupitor.*

[p] Cicero was of opinion, that only ſuch works and buildings really deſerved admiration, as were deſigned for the publick good, ſuch as aqueducts, city-walls, citadels, arſenals, and ſea-ports.

[q] He obſerves, that Pericles, the principal man in Greece, was juſtly blamed for exhauſting the publick treaſures in adorning the city of Athens, and enriching it with ſuperfluous ornaments. The Romans, from the foundation of the empire, had a very different taſte. They had grandeur in their view, but in ſuch matters only as concerned religion, or the publick emolument. [r] Livy obſerves, that under Tarquinius Superbus they finiſhed a work to carry off the waters of the town, and laid the foundations of the Capitol with ſuch magnificence as after-ages have ſcarce been able to imitate; and we to this day admire the ſtrength and beauty of the publick ways, which were raiſed by the Romans in different parts, and ſtill ſubſiſt almoſt entire after ſo many ages.

A like judgment is to be paſſed upon the buildings of private perſons. [s] Tully examining what kind of houſe is proper for a perſon in a great office and of diſtinguiſhed rank in the ſtate, thinks lodging and uſe what ought principally to be regarded; to which a

[o] Tacit. Ann. lib. 15. c. 42.
[p] Lib. 2. Offic. n. 60.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Lib. 1. n. 56.
[s] Lib. 1. Offic. n. 138.

ſecond

ſecond view might be added, with regard to convenience and dignity; [t] but he particularly recommends the avoiding all exceſſive magnificence and expence, as the example never fails of becoming pernicious and contagious, men being generally apt not only to imitate, but to exceed others in this particular. Who, ſays Tully, has rivalled the famous Lucullus in his virtues? But how many have followed his example in the coſtlineſs of his buildings? And in our own days we could cite abundance of families, which have either been entirely ruined, or remarkably hurt by a madneſs for building magnificent houſes in town or country, which are the tombs of the moſt ſubſtantial riches of a family, and ſoon paſs into the hands of ſtrangers, who reap the advantage of the firſt owner's folly. And this ſhould lead ſuch perſons, as are entruſted with the education of youth, to caution them early againſt ſo common and ſo dangerous a taſte.

[a] The ancient Romans were very remote from this. Plutarch mentions one Ælius Tubero in the life of Paulus Æmilius, [x] whom he calls an excellent man, and one that ſupported poverty in a more noble and generous manner than any other Roman. There were ſixteen near relations, all of the Ælian family and name, who had only one little houſe in town, and another in the country, where they all lived together with their wives, and a great many little children.

Among the ancient Romans, it was not the houſe which honoured the maſter, but the maſter the houſe[y]. A cottage with them became as auguſt as a temple,

[t] Cavendum eſt etiam præſertim ſi ipſe ædifices, ne extra modum ſumptu & magnificentia prodeas: quo in genere multum mali etiam in exemplo eſt. Studioſe enim plerique, præſertim in hac parte, facta principium imitantur, ut L. Luculli ſummi viri virtutem quis? at quam multi villarum magnificentiam imitati ſunt! Ibid. n. 40.

[a] Cic. lib. 1. de Offic. n. 139.

[x] Ἀνὴρ ἄριστος, καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατος Ῥωμαίων τὴν πενίαν χρησάμενος.

[y] Illud humile tugurium .... jam omnibus templis formoſius erit, cùm illic juſtitia conſpecta fuerit, cùm continentia, cùm prudentia, pietas, omnium officiorum recte diſpenſandorum ratio. Nullus anguſtus eſt locus, qui hanc tam magnarum virtutum turbam capit. Senec. de conſol. ad Helv. cap. 9.

when

when juſtice, generoſity, probity, ſincerity, and honour were lodged in it; and how can a houſe be called ſmall, which contains ſo many and ſo great virtues?

The taſte for modeſty in buildings, and a diſregard for all expenſiveneſs in this particular, paſſed from the republick to the empire, and from private men to the Emperors in perſon.

Trajan placed a glory in building little, that he might be the better able to ſupport the ancient edifices. *Idem tam parcus in ædificando, quam diligens in tuendo.* He ſet no value upon whatever adminiſtered to oſtentation and vanity. [z] He underſtood, ſays Pliny, wherein the true glory of a Prince conſiſted. He knew, that ſtatues, triumphal arches, and buildings, were liable to periſh by fire and age, or the fancy of a ſucceſſor; but that he who deſpiſes ambition, who governs his paſſions, and ſets bounds to abſolute power, is extolled by all the world during his life, and even after his death, when no body is conſtrained to praiſe him.

The event ſhewed that he was in the right. Alexander Severus repaired ſeveral works of Trajan's, and cauſed that Emperor's name to be fixed upon them all, without allowing his own to be placed in its ſtead. All the great Emperors acted with the ſame moderation, and we ſee to this day that more medals have been ſtruck to the glory of ſuch Princes, as repaired publick buildings and the monuments of their predeceſſors, than in honour of thoſe who raiſed new ones.

We have already obſerved, in another [a] place, that Auguſtus was always content with the ſame apartment and furniture during a reign of near fifty years.

z Scis ubi vera principis, ubi ſempiterna ſit gloria: ubi ſint honores in quos nihil flammis, nihil ſenectuti, nihil ſucceſſoribus liceat. Arcus enim, & ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obſcurat oblivio, negligit carpitque poſteritas. Contra, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ poteſtatis domitor ac frænator animus, ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit, nec ab ullis magis laudatur, quam quibus minime neceſſe eſt. Plin.

a Sueton.

Veſpaſian

[b] Veſpaſian and Titus looked upon it as an honour and a pleaſure to preſerve the little country-houſe, that was left them by their anceſtors, without making any alteration in it.

Thoſe maſters of the world did not think themſelves too ſtraitly lodged in a houſe, which had been built only for a private perſon. The ruins of Adrian's country-ſeat are ſtill remaining, which does not ſeem to have been larger than one of our common houſes, and is by no means equal to that of ſeveral private perſons now living.

For men now, who have no other merit than their riches, (and often of how mean an original!) build magnificent palaces both in town and country; and, to the misfortune of all around them, ſooner or later their neighbour's houſe, vineyard and inheritance, are ſwallowed up in their vaſt buildings, and ſerve only to enlarge their gardens and parks.

[c] What is told of Cardinal d'Amboiſe, archbiſhop of Rouen, and miniſter of ſtate under Lewis XII. is a very extraordinary example. A gentleman of Normandy had an eſtate in land not far from the beautiful ſeat of Gaillon, which at that time belonged to the archbiſhoprick of Rouen. He had no money to give with his daughter in marriage, and to procure a portion, offered to ſell his land to the cardinal at a cheap rate. Another would perhaps have taken advantage of the occaſion; but the cardinal, knowing the gentleman's motive, left him his land, and freely gave him as much money as he ſtood in need of.

We have had a Prince [d] in our days, whoſe loſs will be eternally lamented in France, as in many other reſpects, ſo particularly for his extreme averſion to all pomp, and uſeleſs expence. It was propoſed to him to put up finer and more faſhionable chimney-pieces in one of his apartments; but as there was no neceſſity for the alteration, he choſe rather to preſerve

[b] Sueton. in vit. Veſp. cap. 2. [c] Vie du Card. d'Amboiſe par Baudier. [d] The Duke of Burgundy.

the old ones. He was adviſed to buy a bureau, worth fifteen hundred livres, but thinking it too dear, he had an old one brought out of the wardrobe, and contented himſelf with that. And thus he behaved in every particular, and out of no other motive, than that he might have wherewithal to be the more liberal. How great a bleſſing to a kingdom, and how kind a preſent from heaven is a prince of this character? In point of ſolid glory and real greatneſs, how far preferable is a tender love for the people, which extends to ſuch ſelf-denial for their benefit, to all the magnificence of the moſt ſumptuous buildings?

'Twas this that King Lewis XIV. when ready to expire, that is, at a time when the judgment is moſt ſound, recommended to the preſent King, who ſits upon the throne. Amongſt other inſtructions, which have been juſtly deemed worthy of eternal remembrance, *I have been too fond of war* [d], ſaid he to him, *do not follow me in that, nor in the very great expences I have run into.* In the laſt diſcourſe he had with his grandſon at Seaux, when he was ſetting out for Spain, he gave him the ſame advice; and the King of Spain told the perſon from whom I had it, that his grandfather ſpoke theſe words to him with tears in his eyes.

III. *Furniture. Dreſs. Equipage.*

Nothing of this kind makes a man greater or more deſerving, becauſe nothing of all this makes a part of himſelf, but is wholly external, and foreign to him. And yet the generality of mankind place their greatneſs in theſe. They look upon themſelves as mixed and incorporated with all around them, their furniture, dreſs, and equipage. They ſwell and enlarge the idea they form of themſelves, as much as they can, from theſe outward circumſtances: By theſe they think they are very great, and flatter themſelves that they appear ſo in the eyes of others.

[d] Dernieres paroles de Louis XIV. au Roy Louis XV. de l'imprimerie du cabinet du Roy.

But

"But to paſs a right judgment upon their greatneſs, we ſhould examine them in themſelves, and ſet aſide for a few moments their train and retinue. We ſhould then find, that they appear great and exalted, by being beheld at a diſtance, and raiſed in a manner upon their baſis. Strip them of this advantage, and reduce them to their proper ſtandard, to their juſt proportion, and the vain phantom vaniſhes. Their outſide is rich and fine, like the walls of their apartments; within there is often nought but meanneſs, baſeneſs, and poverty, with an hideous void of every merit; and ſometimes even this fine outward ſhew conceals the moſt enormous crimes and the moſt infamous vices.

God, [f] ſays Seneca, could not have caſt a greater reproach and diſgrace upon thoſe outward advantages, which are the object of our deſires, than by conferring them, as he often does, upon ſorry wretches, and denying them uſually to men of the greateſt probity. To what a condition would the latter be reduced, if men were to be judged by their outſide? How often has the moſt ſolid merit been miſtaken, and expoſed even to contempt, becauſe concealed under a mean habit, and an indifferent appearance?

[g] Philopemen, the greateſt ſoldier of his age in Greece, who exalted ſo much the glory of the republick of the Achæans, by his extraordinary merit, and

[a] Nemo illorum, quos divitiæ honoresque in altum fastigia provexêre, magnus est. Quare ergo magnos videtur? Cum suis illum suo metimur. . . Hoc laboramus errore, de nobis imponitur, quod æstimamus ex quod est, sed ex accessionibus & ex quibus admotus est. Atque cum vidêre verum bonorum æstimatorem intus, & si ex quibus sit, nudum inspexêre, quæ gestamus, ponit bona nostra, & alia fortunæ mendacia. Senec. Epist. 76.

Aurum istud, argentum, & obsessorum domus nihil ad me boni mihi ostendunt. Illa, quæ pro felicibus aspectis, & non quæ currunt, sed quæ latent, videntia, miseri sunt, sordidi, turpes, ad humilitudinem parietum suorum extrinsecus culti. Itaque, dum illis licet fluere, & ad arbitrium suum offendi, nitent & imponunt: cum aliquid incidit quod disturbet ac detegat, tunc apparet quantum altæ ac veræ suditatis alienus splendor abscondit. Id. lib. de Provid. cap. ix.

[f] Nullo modo magis potest Deus concupita traducere, quàm si illa ad turpissimos defert, ab optimis abigit. Ibid. cap. 5.

[g] Plut. in vit. Philop.

whom

whom the Romans called by way of admiration the aſt of the Greeks; this Philopemen was uſually clad n a very plain dreſs, and often went abroad without ny ſervant or attendance. In this manner he came lone to the houſe of a friend who had invited him to linner. The miſtreſs of the family, who expected the general of the Achæans, took him for a ſervant, and begg'd he would give her his aſſiſtance in the kitchen, because her huſband was abſent. Philopemen without ceremony threw off his cloak, and fell to cleaving wood. The huſband coming in that inſtant, and ſurprized at the oddneſs of the ſight, "[h] How now, "Philopemen," ſays he, "what's the meaning of "this?" "Oh," anſwered the other, "I am pay-"ing intereſt for my bad appearance."

Scipio Æmilianus, who lived four and fifty years, never made any acquiſition in all his life, and when he died, left only four and forty marks of ſilver plate, and three of gold, tho' he had been maſter of all the wealth of Carthage, and had enriched his ſoldiers more than any other general. Being deputed by the ſenate of Rome, with full powers to reſtore diſcipline in the towns and provinces, and to inſpect Kings and nations, tho' deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, and adopted into one of the richeſt, and tho' he had ſo auguſt a character to ſupport in the name of the Roman Empire, he carried with him but one friend, and he was a philoſopher,[i] and five ſervants, one of which dying upon the road, he contented himſelf with the four that remained, till one came from Rome to ſupply his place. As ſoon as he came to Alexandria with this ſmall retinue, his fame diſcovered him notwithſtanding all the care his modeſty had taken to prevent it, and drew all the city to meet him upon his landing. [k] His perſon alone, without any other

[h] Τί πᾶτο (ἔφη) Φιλοποίμην; Τί τὰς ἄλλο (ἔφη δαρίζων ἐκείνος;) ἢ τιμωρίας ὄψεως δίκας δίδωμι.

[i] Panætius.

[k] Cum per ſocios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia ſed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri & argenti, ſed quantum amplitudinis

other attendance than that of his virtues, his actions, and his triumphs, was enough to extinguiſh, even in the eyes of the people, the vain ſplendor of the King of Egypt, who was advanced to meet him with all his court, and drew upon him alone the eyes, the acclamations, and applauſes of all the world.

[l] Theſe examples teach us, that we ought not to value men by their outward appearance, any more than a horſe by his trappings. An extraordinary merit may lie hid under a mean habit, as a rich garment may cover enormous vices. They ſhew us in the ſecond place, that greater courage and reſolution is required, than one would eaſily imagine, to become ſuperior to popular opinions, and to get the better of the falſe infamy which the world is pleaſed to caſt upon a plain, poor, and frugal manner of living. Seneca, as much a philoſopher as he was, or had a mind to be thought, had always ſomewhat of this falſe ſhame hanging about him; and [m] he owns himſelf, that going down ſometimes to his country-ſeat in an ordinary chariot, he has bluſhed againſt his inclination at being caught upon the road in ſuch an equipage by perſons of diſtinction; a certain proof, as he ſays himſelf, that he had not thoroughly reduced to practice what he had ſaid and wrote upon the advantages of a frugal life. He that bluſhes at a mean chariot, adds he, is fond of a finer. And he has made a little progreſs in virtue, who dares not openly declare in favour of poverty and frugality, and is at all concerned about the judgment of ſpectators.

[n] Ageſilaus, King of Lacedæmon, was herein a greater philoſopher than Seneca. A Spartan education had

amplitudinis pondus ſecum ferret, æſtimabatur. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 3. n. 13.

[l] Senec. Ep. 47.

[m] Vix à me obtineo, ut hoc vehiculum velim videri meum. Durat adhuc perverſa recti verecundia. Quoties in aliquem comitatum luſtriorem incidimus, invitus erubeſco: quod argumentum eſt, iſta quæ probo, quæ laudo, nondum habere certam fidem & immobilem. Qui ſordido vehiculo erubeſcit, pretioſo gloriatur. Parum adhuc profeci, nondum audeo frugalitatem palam ferre: etiam nunc curo opiniones viatorum. Senec. Epiſt. 87.

[n] Plut. in Vit. Ageſ.

arm'd

arm'd him againſt this falſe ſhame. Pharnabaſus, governor of one of the provinces belonging to the King of Perſia, had deſired to treat of peace with him; and the interview was appointed in the open field. The firſt appeared in all the pomp and luxury of the Perſian court. He was dreſt in a purple robe embroidered with gold and ſilver. The ground was ſpread with rich carpets, and fine cuſhions were laid to ſit down upon. Ageſilaus, in a very plain dreſs, without any ceremony, ſat himſelf down upon the graſs. The pride of the Perſian was confounded at his behaviour, and unable to ſupport the compariſon, paid homage to the plainneſs of the Lacedæmonian, by following his example. And this, becauſe a quite different train, which far outſhone all the gold and ſilver of Perſia, ſurrounded Ageſilaus, and gained him reverence; I mean, his name, his reputation, his victories, and the terror of his arms, which made the King of Perſia tremble even upon his throne.

The Emperors [o] Nerva, [p] Trajan, [q] Antoninus, and [r] Marcus Aurelius, ſold the palaces, the gold and ſilver plate, the valuable furniture, and all the ſuperfluities they could diſpenſe with, which their predeceſſors had heaped up through a deſire of poſſeſſing ſolely whatever was exquiſitely curious. Theſe Princes, as alſo Veſpaſian, Pertinax, Severus, Alexander, Claudius II. and Tacitus, who were raiſed to the empire by their merit, and whom all ages have admired as the beſt and greateſt of Princes, always affected a great ſimplicity in their apparel, their furniture, and outward appearance, and deſpiſed whatever had the leaſt tincture of pomp and luxury. By retrenching all uſeleſs expences, [s] they found a greater fund in their own modeſty, than the moſt avaricious in all their ſpoils; and without endeavouring to ſet themſelves off by any outward luſtre,

[o] Dio.
[p] Plin. Paneg.
[q] Capitol.
[r] In Vit. Marc. Aurel. Vict. Epit. & Eutrop.
[s] Plin. Paneg.

[t] ſhewed they were only Emperors by the care they took of the publick. In every thing elſe they reſembled other citizens, and lived like private men. But the lower they ſtoop'd in their condeſcenſions, the greater and more auguſt they appeared.

[u] Veſpaſian upon ſolemn days drank out of a ſmall ſilver cup, which had been left him by his grandmother, who brought him up. [w] Trajan's retinue was very modeſt and moderate. He had no body to clear the way before him, and was pleaſed ſometimes to be under a neceſſity of ſtopping in the ſtreets to let the attendants of others paſs by him.

[x] Marcus Aurelius was ſtill more averſe to every thing that had the air of pomp and luxury. He lay upon the bare ground; at twelve years old he took the habit of a philoſopher; he forbore the uſe of guards, the imperial ornaments, and the enſigns of honour, which were carried before the Cæſars and the Auguſti. Nor was this conduct owing to his ignorance of what was grand and beautiful, but to the juſter and purer taſte he had of both, and to an intimate perſuaſion that the greatſt glory, and principal duty of man, eſpecially if in power, and eminently conſpicuous, is ſo far to imitate the Deity, as to throw himſelf into a condition of wanting as little as may be for himſelf, and doing all the good to others he is capable of.

[y] Arnold d'Oſſat, who is ſo famous for his wonderful abilities in negotiation, though his furniture fell far ſhort of the dignity of a cardinal, refuſed to accept of the money, the chariot and horſes, and the damaſk bed, which the cardinal de Joyeuſe ſent him as a preſent three weeks after his promotion. For, [z] ſays he, *though I have not all that is requiſite to ſupport this dignity, yet I will not for that reaſon renounce the abſtinence and modeſty I have always obſerved.* Such a diſpoſition is

[t] Dio l.b. 66. Τῇ τροπῇ τῶν πολλῶν, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομίζετο.
[u] Sueton. Vit. Veſpaſ. cap. 2.
[w] Plin. Paneg.
[x] M. Aur. vit. Dio. Julian. Cæſ.
[y] Vie du Card. d'Oſſat.
[z] Lett. 181.

more

more extraordinary and valuable, than a magnificent equipage, and rich furniture.

[a] The tribune of the people, who became an advocate for the Roman ladies againſt the ſeverity of Cato, and pleaded for the reſtoring to them, after the ſecond Punick War, the right of wearing gold and ſilver in their apparel, ſeems to inſinuate, that dreſs or ornament were in a manner their natural province; and that as they could not aſpire to any perferments, to the prieſthood, or the honour of a triumph, it would not only be cruel, but unjuſt, to refuſe them a conſolation, which the ſole neceſſity of the times had taken from them. This reaſon might affect the people, but was not very honourable to the ſex, as it taxes them with weakneſs and meanneſs, in repreſenting them as fond of trifles. *Virorum hoc animos vulnerare poſſet, quid mulierciarum cenſetis, quas etiam parva movent.*

Yet we learn from hiſtory, that the Roman ladies generouſly ſtript themſelves of all their jewels, and preſented all their gold and ſilver, [b] at one time, to enable the republick to diſcharge a vow made to Apollo, for which they had honourable diſtinctions granted them; [c] and at another, to redeem Rome from the Gauls, which procured them the right and privilege of being praiſed in funeral orations, as well as the men. [d] In the ſecond Punick War the widows in like manner brought their gold and ſilver into the publick treaſury, to aſſiſt the ſtate in the extreme neceſſity under which it groaned.

The famous Cornelia, daughter to the great Scipio, and mother to the Gracchi, is univerſally known. Her extraction was the nobleſt in Rome, and her family the richeſt. [e] A lady of Campania, coming to make her a viſit, and lodging in her houſe, diſplayed with pomp whatever was then moſt faſhionable and valuable for the toilette, gold and ſilver, jewels, dia-

a Liv. lib. 7. n. 34.
b Liv. lib. 5. n. 25.
c Ib. n. 50.
d Liv. lib. 24. n. 18.
e Valer. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

monds, bracelets, pendants, and all that appertains to the ornaments called *muliebrium mulierum*. She expected to find ſomewhat ſtill finer in the houſe of a perſon of her quality, and teaſed very importunately to ſee her ornaments. Cornelia artfully prolonged the converſation till ſuch time as her children came home. "Here were they gone to the publick ſchools, and pointing to them as they entered. "See here, ſays ſhe, are "my jewels." *Ecce hæc, inquit, ornamenta mea ſunt.* We need only examine our own thoughts in relation to theſe two ladies, to find out how far ſuperior the noble ſimplicity of the one was to the vain magnificence of the other. And indeed what merit or ability is there in heaping up a large collection of precious ſtones and jewels, in being vain of them, or in not knowing how to talk of any thing elſe? And on the other hand, how truly worthy is it in a perſon of the firſt quality to be above ſuch trifles, to place her honour and glory in the good education of her children, in ſparing no expence towards the bringing it about, and in ſhewing that nobleneſs and greatneſs of ſoul do equally belong to both ſexes?

"[f] De Beaunes, archbiſhop of Bourges, in the o-"ration he made to the ſtates of Blois againſt luxury, "and principally with reſpect to coaches, which ſe-"veral perſons of mean condition began to make "uſe of, highly commends the modeſty of the pre-"mier preſident du Thou's lady, who, to ſet an ex-"ample to other ladies of quality, was always con-"tented to be carried behind another on horſeback, "when ſhe made her viſits in the town." What merits praiſe in this little ſtory, is not the viſiting on horſeback (ſuch were the cuſtoms of thoſe times) but the noble greatneſs of ſoul in this lady, who thought, that the giving others an example of modeſty and ſimplicity was the beſt manner of ſupporting the dignity of her ſtation, and becoming in reality a premier preſident.

[f] Orat. de Loyſel.

IV. *Of*

IV. *Of luxury in eating and drinking.*

This was carried in the declenſion of the republick to an almoſt incredible exceſs, and under the Emperors they ſtill roſe upon the gluttony of their predeceſſors.

[g] Lucullus, who in other reſpects was a man of excellent qualities, upon his return from the war, attempted to ſubſtitute the glory of magnificence to that of his arms and battles, and turned all his ſtudies that way. He laid out immenſe ſums upon his houſes and gardens, and was ſtill more expenſive at his table. He required it every day to be ſerved up in the ſame ſumptuous manner, tho' nobody was to dine with him. As his ſteward was one day excuſing the meanneſs of his dinner, becauſe there was no company, "Did you not know," ſays he, "that Lucullus was "to eat at Lucullus's houſe to-day." Tully and Pompey not giving credit to the reports of his ordinary magnificence, were reſolved one day to ſurprize him, and be ſatisfied, whether it was ſo or not. And meeting him in publick, they invited themſelves, and would not allow him to give any directions to his domeſticks about their entertainment. He therefore barely ordered that dinner ſhould be ſerved up in the hall of Apollo. The entertainment was got ready with ſo much celerity and opulence, as ſurprized and aſtoniſhed his gueſts. They did not know that the *hall of Apollo* was a watch-word, and ſignified that the feaſt ſhould amount to [h] fifty thouſand drachms.

If good eating and drinking were capable of procuring ſolid glory, Lucullus was the greateſt man of his age. But who ſees not, how pitiful and ſilly it was to place his honour and reputation in making the world believe, that he every day ſquandered enormous and ſenſeleſs expences for the gratification of his own

[g] Plut. in Luculli. [h] 2500 livres.

private appetite? I queſtion whether his gueſts, who mightily commended and admired, no doubt, ſuch prodigious magnificence, were much wiſer than he. For 'twas they ſupported his folly and diſtemper. [f] *Irritamentum eſt omnium in quæ inſanimus, admirator & conſcius.* And the ſame may be ſaid of all that outward magniſicence, by which men ſtrive to make themſelves conſiderable, large apartments, valuable furniture, and rich garments. [g] 'Tis all for ſhew, and not for eaſe; for the ſpectators, and not for the maſter. Place him in ſolitude, and you make him frugal and modeſt, and all this vanity is at an end.

But to give a different inſtance of this folly. [h] A perſon, entering Anthony's kitchen, was ſurprized to ſee eight wild boars roaſting at the ſame time. He judged there was like to be a great deal of company, but was miſtaken. Whilſt Anthony was at Alexandria there was always a magnificent entertainment ready to be ſerved up about ſupper-time, that whenever Anthony was pleaſed to call for it, he might have his table covered with the moſt exquiſite meats.

I forbear to mention ſuch extravagant and wild expences, as a diſh made up of the tongues of the ſcarceſt birds in the univerſe, or ſeveral pearls of immenſe price infuſed and diſſolved in a certain liquor, for the pleaſure of ſwallowing down a million at a draught.

To theſe monſters of luxury, who are a diſgrace to mankind, let us oppoſe the modeſty and frugality of a Cato, the honour of his age and commonwealth; I mean the elder, who is uſually ſurnamed the Cenſor. [i] He boaſted that he had never drank any other wine, than ſuch as was drunk by his workmen and domeſticks, never bought a ſupper which exceeded thirty ſeſtertia,

f Senec. Ep. 94.

g Quid mirantis? Quid ſuſpicis? Pompa eſt. Oſtendunt illæ res, non poſſidentur. Senec. Ep. 110.

Ambitioſa ſupellex, luxuria ſervata poſteritati, tenabit illa, ſi abſtinendo. Id. Ep. 94.

Aſſuefacamus à nobis removere pompam, & ea rerum non ornamenta nobis, ſed onera ducere. Id. de tran. animæ cap. 9.

h Plut. in vit. Anton.

i Plut. in vit. Cat. Cenſ.

nor

nor ever wore a garment which coſt above an hundred drachms of ſilver. He learnt to live thus, he ſaid, from the example of the famous Curius, that great man who drove Pyrrhus out of Italy, and had thrice the honour of a triumph. The houſe he had lived in, in the country of the Sabines, was near to Cato's, and for this reaſon he looked upon it as a model the more venerable from being in his neighbourhood. 'Twas this Curius the embaſſadors of the Samnites found in a poor little cottage, ſitting in the chimney-corner boiling of roots, who rejected their preſents with diſdain, telling them, that whoever could be content with ſuch a ſupper did not want gold; and that for his part he thought it more honourable to command over thoſe who had riches, than to have them himſelf.

Theſe examples may be too old perhaps to make any impreſſion upon the generality of mankind in our age; but they had ſuch an effect upon ſeveral of the greateſt Roman Emperors, that though they were in full poſſeſſion of riches and power, tho' they were to ſupport the majeſty of a large empire, and had the profuſion of their predeceſſors in every kind before their eyes, they thought they could not aſpire to be really great, but as they roſe above that corruption of their own age, and reſembled thoſe venerable models of antiquity, form'd upon the rules of the pureſt reaſon and juſteſt taſte of ſolid glory.

'Twas by ſtudying theſe great originals, that Veſpaſian declared himſelf an enemy to all pomp, pleaſures and entertainments, and that he followed the modeſty and frugality of the ancients in every thing about him. 'Twas by theſe virtues he check'd the courſe of publick luxury and prodigality, eſpecially with reſpect to eating. And this diſorder, [a] which under Tiberius ſeem'd to be paſt all remedy, and had increaſed exceſſively under the ſucceeding bad Princes, and which the laws, armed with all the terrors of puniſhment had not

[a] Tacit. Ann. lib. 3. cap. 52.

been able to suppress, [o] gave way to the bare example he set of sobriety and temperance, and the desire others had of pleasing him by doing as he did. [p] In the same manner he threw a scandal and disgrace upon luxury and effeminacy, by taking away a commission from a young man to whom he had given it, because he was perfumed when he came to thank him for it. *I had rather*, said he, *you had stunk of garlick.*

The Emperors Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Alexander, Pertinax, Aurelian, Tacitus, Claudius II. and Probus, all Princes who have done the greatest honour to the throne, guided by the same taste, and disciples of the same masters, always took care to be very frugal and modest in their tables, and banished all expence and delicacy from them with the utmost severity. Most of them, whilst in the camp, [q] eat the common food that was given to the army: and Alexander, to satisfy the soldiers that he fed as they did, caused his tent to be always open, whilst he was at his meals. When he was not in the field [r] the daily expence of his house, to our great astonishment, was so small, that now-a-days it would scarce suffice a private family. He had no gold utensils, and his silver plate did not amount to three hundrd marks; so that when much company were to dine with him, he would borrow the plate of his friends, with their servants to wait on them; not keeping more officers in his palace, than he commonly stood in need of. And this not out of any parsimonious disposition, for never Prince was more liberal, [s] but out of a thorough conviction, as he would often say, that the grandeur and

[o] Principum adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque: cl.sequium inde in principem & æmulandi amor, validior quam jussa ex legibus, & metus. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. c. 55.

[p] Sueton. lib. 8. c. 8.

[q] Cheese, bacon, beans, pulse.

[r] Fifteen pints of wine a day, thirty pounds of meat, and eighty pounds of bread. Only they added a green goose on feast-days, and upon great solemnities a pheasant or two, and two capons. Lamprid. in Vit. Alex.

[s] Lamp. in Vit. Alexand.

glory

glory of the empire did not conſiſt in ſplendor and magnificence, but in the ſtrength of the ſtate, and the virtue of thoſe who governed it. [t] Ptolemy, King of Egypt, had long before ſet a like example of modeſty. He had very little plate in his palace, no more than was requiſite for his own private uſe. And when he invited any of his friends to dine with him, he would ſend and borrow theirs, [u] declaring it was more worthy of a King to enrich others, than to be rich himſelf.

What is reported of the Emperor Probus, [w] who holds one of the firſt places in the number of great Princes, and under whom the Roman empire arrived at the higheſt pitch of happineſs, is no leſs worthy of admiration. During his war with Perſia, as he was ſitting at dinner upon the bare ground, and eating a meſs of pork and peaſe, word was brought him that the Perſian embaſſadors were arrived. Without changing either his poſture or dreſs, which was no other than a purple coat, but made of woollen, and a cap which he wore for want of hair, he ordered them to be introduced, and told them that he was the Emperor, and they might go and tell their maſter, that if he did not take care, he would in a month's time lay all his fields as naked of trees and corn, as his head was of hairs; and at the ſame time he took off his cap, to make them the better comprehend his meaning. He then invited them to eat part of his dinner, in caſe they were hungry; if not, they had nothing to do but to go back immediately. The embaſſadors made their report to their Prince, who was in a terrible fright, as well as his ſoldiers, that they had to deal with a people, who were ſuch profeſſed enemies to luxury and pleaſure. He came in perſon to meet the Emperor, and granted him whatever he demanded.

[t] The ſon of Lagus. Plut. in Apophthegm.

[u] Τὸ πλουτίζειν ἄλλους τὸ πλουτίζειν ἰδίᾳ βασιλικώτερον.

[w] Syneſius names him Carinus; but M. Tillemont, after F. Petavius, is of opinion that it agrees better with Probus.

But comparing all I have hitherto mentioned concerning pomp and ſimplicity; on the one ſide, whatever is moſt ſplendid, riches, magnificent buildings, furniture, fine clothes, and a table moſt ſumptuouſly and delicately ſpread; and on the other, poverty, ſimplicity, frugality and modeſty, but attended with victories, triumphs, conſulſhips, dictatorial power, and even the empire of the world; I leave it to the judgment of any man of good ſenſe and reaſon, on which ſide lies the noble and great, and which he thinks deſerves moſt his eſteem and admiration. The deciſion will not be difficult. And 'tis this natural and unſtudied ſenſe of things, which I look upon as the rule of good taſte in the point of ſolid glory and real grandeur.

In quoting theſe ancient examples of modeſty and frugality, I have no deſign to propoſe them as perfect models for our imitation. Our age and manners cancan bear ſo maſculine and robuſt a virtue. There are beſides certain rules of decency to be obſerved, and in every ſtate and condition things may be reduced to an honeſt and commendable mediocrity, which will juſtify and direct the uſe of them. But how much ought we to be concerned, and aſhamed to obſerve to what a degree our manners have degenerated from the virtue of the ancient Pagans? And what efforts ought we not to make to conform in ſome meaſure at leaſt to thoſe primitive rules, though we are not ſo happy to have any longer the courage and liberty entirely to come up to them.

My deſign in theſe examples, is firſt to teach youth, that they ought not to look upon ſuch as lead a poor and frugal life, as contemptible, or even unhappy. 'Tis the reflection which Seneca draws from the examples before us. Do we think, [a] ſays he, that our

[a] Scilicet majores noſtri, quorum virtus etiam nunc vitia noſtra ſuſtentat, infelices erant, qui ſibi manu ſua parabant cibum, quibus terra cubile erat, quorum tecta nondum auro fulgebant, quorum templa nondum gemmis nitebant? Senec de conſolat. ad Helv. cap. 10.

anceſtors, whoſe virtues ſtill ſupport the Empire, which our vices would have long ago deſtroyed, were much to be pitied, for dreſſing their own dinners, for lying on hard couches, or for having neither gold nor diamonds in their houſes and temples?

I am ſenſible that one objection may be made to all I can ſay of the ancient Greeks and Romans. For though we may reſpect the examples of frugality, ſimplicity and poverty, in Ariſtides, Cimon, Curius, Fabricius, Cato, &c. yet 'tis natural enough to make ſome abatements, from a perſuaſion, that in poor republicks it was ſcarce poſſible to live otherwiſe; and it is ſtill doubtful with the generality of people, whether theſe examples can be of any uſe to our age, which is richer and more plentiful, and in which it would be ridiculous to attempt to imitate them. But in my opinion the example of the Emperors amounts to full proof, and ſets the matter beyond exception. In ſhort, if thoſe maſters of the world, whoſe riches were equal to their power, and who ſucceded to Emperors that had carried luxury, pleaſures, epicuriſm and extravagance to the utmoſt heights of exceſs, were ſtill fond of frugality, modeſty, ſimplicity, and poverty, what reaſonable reply can be made to the maxims I have laid down upon this ſubject?

I would deſire to know, whether thoſe great Princes I have ſpoken of, thoſe men of extraordinary talents and ſuperior genius, had not the taſte of real greatneſs and ſolid glory; whether all nations and ages have been miſtaken in the high encomiums they have given them; and whether any one ever ventured to charge them with having debaſed either the nobility of their birth, the dignity of their ſtation, or the majeſty of the Empire; and whether on the other hand theſe were not the qualities, which raiſed them the higher, and have univerſally drawn upon them the eſteem, love, and admiration of poſterity. Can any private perſon now imagine himſelf a better judge of real glory than they were, or ſhould he think himſelf unhappy, or diſhonoured,

diſhonoured, by being found in ſuch illuſtrious company, and ſtanding by a Trajan, an Antoninus, or a Marcus Aurelius? Shall we pay a greater regard to an Apicius, who ſetting up for a perfect maſter in the art of cookery, infected and corrupted his age by that wretched ſcience? [y] *Qui ſcientiam popinæ profeſſus, diſciplina ſua ſeculum infecit.* Shall we prefer to the great examples I have quoted thoſe of Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Commodus, or Heliogabalus? For, to the inеſtimable good fortune of their people, all the good Emperors in general, and without exception, have been of the character I here recommend; and all the bad Emperors in general are found in the oppoſite claſs, with all the vices which I condemn.

My deſign ſecondly, is to inſtil into youth a veneration for the original ſource and principle from whence aroſe that generous contempt which the great men of antiquity ſhew'd for what the greateſt part of mankind now admire and purſue. For 'tis this principle, this diſpoſition of the mind, which is really eſtimable. A man may be reſerv'd and modeſt in the midſt of riches and honours, as he may be proud and avaricious in the obſcurity of a poor and wretched life.

[z] The Emperor Antoninus is judged to be one of the greateſt Princes that ever reigned. He was held in ſuch reverence by all poſterity, [a] that neither the Roman people, nor the ſoldiers, could ſuffer any other Emperor to be called after his name; and Alexander Severus himſelf found it too auguſt, to venture upon aſſuming it. [b] Antoninus, through an equality of mind and greatneſs of ſoul, which rendered him independent of all without him, was uſually ſatisfied with what was moſt plain and moderate. As he affected nothing particular in his food, lodging, bed, domeſticks or dreſs, wearing only the common ſtuffs, and ſuch as were rea-

y Senec. de Conſol. ad Helv. cap. 10.

z Dio, lib. 70. Capitol. in vit. T. Antonin.

a Capitol. in vit. Macrin. Dial. Geta. Lamprid. in vit. Alexand.

b M. Aur. lib. 1. c. 18. & lib. 6. c. 23.

dieſt

dieſt to be met with; ſo he would make uſe of the conveniencies which offered, without rejecting them through affectation; equally ready to uſe every thing with moderation, or lay it aſide without uneaſineſs.

'Twas this diſpoſition of mind the wife of Tubero, whom I have already ſpoken of, particularly admired in her huſband, according to the judicious obſervation of Plutarch. "She was not aſhamed, [d] ſays the hiſ-"torian, of her huſband's poverty, but admir'd in "him the virtue which made him conſent to remain "poor:" that is, the motive which retained him in his poverty, by diſapproving the means of becoming rich, which are uſually diſhoneſt and unjuſt. For the lawful ways of accumulating wealth were very rare to a noble Roman; as he could not apply himſelf to buſineſs and trade, nor expect any gratification, or penſion, or other kind of benefit, which officers uſually now receive from the liberality of our Princes, by way of recompence for the ſervices he did the ſtate. There was ſcarce any other way of becoming rich, but by plundering the provinces, as other magiſtrates and generals did. And it was this greatneſs of ſoul, this diſintereſtdeneſs, this delicacy and love of juſtice, which made him reject all unworthy means of throwing off his poverty, that this lady ſo deſervedly admired in him. Infinitely above the common ſentiments of the world, ſhe diſcerned through the veils of poverty and ſimplicity the greatneſs of ſoul which occaſioned them, and thought herſelf obliged to reſpect her huſband ſtill more upon that very account, which might perhaps have rendered him contemptible to other women; *θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣν πένης ἦν.*

In my opinion, youth ſhould principally be put upon taking notice of ſuch paſſages as theſe, whilſt they are reading hiſtory, as nothing is more capable of forming their taſte and judgment, to which the care of maſters ought entirely to tend.

[d] Οὐκ αἰσχυνομένη τὴν πενίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣν πένης ἦν.

'Tis

'Tis of ſervice alſo to confirm theſe inſtructions by examples taken from modern hiſtory, and eſpecially of the great men, whoſe memory is ſtill recent. Who has not heard of M. de Turenne's ſimplicity and modeſty in his retinue and equipage? "He ſtrives to conceal himſelf," ſays M. Flechier in his funeral oration, "but his reputation diſcovers him. He marches "without a train of attendants, whilſt every man in "his own mind places him upon a triumphal car. As "he paſſes by, the enemies he has conquered are "reckoned, and not the ſervants which follow "him. Alone as he is, we imagine him ſurrounded "in all places with his virtues and victories. There "is ſomething extremely noble in this elegant ſimplicity, and the leſs haughty he is, the more venerable he becomes." His character was exactly the ſame in all reſpects, in his buildings, his furniture and his table. M. de Catinat, the worthy diſciple of ſuch a maſter, imitated him in his ſimplicity, as well as in his military virtues.

I have heard ſome officers ſay, who had ſerved under theſe two great men, that in the army their tables were well ſupplied, but with great plainneſs; that they were plentiful, but military; that they eat only of common food, and drank only of the wine of the country where the troops lay.

Mareſchal de la Ferté, when no longer able to ſerve, through his great age and infirmities, ordered his ſon's equipage for the campaign to be got ready. His ſteward having made ample proviſion of truffles, morelles, and all the other materials that were requiſite to make excellent ragous, by the ſon's direction, brought in the bill. The Mareſcal had ſcarce caſt his eye upon it, before he threw it away in a paſſion, "'Tis not thus, "ſaid he, that we made war. Coarſe meat plainly "dreſſed was all the ragous we had. Go, tell my ſon, "that I will not put myſelf for nothing to ſo fooliſh "an expence, and ſo unworthy of a ſoldier." This I was told by an officer that was preſent. And the

ſame

ſame gentleman obſerved, that in the late war the officers, that met at Paris, ſeldom entertained themſelves with any other food, than ſuch as they had eaten during the campaign.

Lewis XIV. in the military code he has left behind him, which contains divers regulations for the ſoldiery, beſides what relates to plate, equipage, and dreſs, [e] particularly recommends plainneſs and frugality in eating; and to this end enters into a very particular detail, and forbids an expenſive and ſumptuous table under ſevere penalties. Thus a Prince, who knows how to govern, eaſily comprehends how important it is to the ſtate to baniſh all luxury and magnificence from the camp; [f] to ſuppreſs the ſenſeleſs ambition of ſuch as ſtrive to diſtinguiſh themſelves [g] by a falſe politeneſs, and the ſtudy of what ſoftens and enervates mankind; and to cover with ſhame ſuch profuſions as conſume in a few months what might ſerve for ſeveral years, *or be ſo much more nobly applied in relieving the diſtreſſes, and promoting the happineſs of mankind.*

[e] Sa Majeſté voulant par toutes voies ôter les moins aux officiers généraux de ſes armées de ſe conſtituer en des dépenſes inutiles & ſuperflues, comme celles qui ſe font en leurs tables, s'étant introduit une méchante coutume de faire dans les armées des repas plus magnifiques & ſomptueux qu'ils ne ſont ordinairement en leurs maiſons; ce qui non ſeulement incommode les plus riches, mais ruine entierement les moins accommodés, qui à leur exemple PAR UNE FAUSSE REPUTATION, croient être obligés de les imiter. . . . . Défend ſa Majeſté aux lieutenans généraux, &c. qui tiendront table, d'y faire ſervir autre choſe que des potages & du rôti, avec des entrées & entremets qui ne ſeront que de groſſes viandes, ſans qu'il puiſſe y avoir aucunes aſſiettes volantes ni hors d'œuvre, &c. Réglemens du 24 Mars 1672, & du premier Avril 1705.

[f] Ambitione ſtolida luxurioſos apparatus conviviorum, & irritamenta libidinum, ut inſtrumenta belli, lucrantur. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 88.

[g] Paulatim diſceſſum ad delinimenta vitiorum, balnea, & conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocatur. Tacit. in vit. Agric. cap. 21.

V. *Honours. Dignities.*

Poſts of preferment, and the marks of reſpect annexed to them, may flatter the ambition and vanity of mankind, but in themſelves include no real glory or ſolid greatneſs, as they are foreign to them, as they are not always the proof and reward of merit, as they add nothing to the good qualities either of body or mind, as they correct none of our faults, but often on the contrary, ſerve to multiply and make them more remarkable, by making them conſpicuous, and exhibiting them in a ſtronger light. Thoſe who judge beſt, without ſuffering themſelves to be dazzled by empty ſhew, have always held dignities as burthens which they were loaded with, rather than honoured by; and the higher they have been raiſed, the heavier and more dreadful the weight has appeared. There is nothing ſo ſplendid in the eyes of mankind, as royalty and ſovereign power, and nothing at the ſame time ſo laborious and oppreſſive. The glory which ſurrounds it, makes us with reaſon admire ſuch perſons as have had the courage to refuſe it; and the labour and pains which are inſeparable from it, make us ſtill more admire ſuch as rightly diſcharge all the duties of it.

The young Sidonians, who refuſed the ſceptre which was offered them, well underſtood, as Hephæſtion tells them, that it was far more glorious to deſpiſe, than to accept royalty; [h] *Prima intellexiſtis, quanto majus, eſſet regnum faſtidire, quàm accipere.* And the anſwer of Abdalonymus, whom they had raiſed from the duſt to a throne, ſufficiently explains his opinion of it. Alexander aſking him how he had borne his condition of poverty and miſery; "Would to God, "ſays he, I could bear royalty with as much courage "and reſolution!" *Utinam, inquit, eodem animo reg-*

[h] Q. Curt. lib. 4. n. 1.

num pati poſſim! The phraſe *regnum pati*, "to bear "royalty" is very expreſſive, and plainly ſhews that he thought it a heavier and more dangerous burden than poverty.

We ſhall ſee hereafter in what manner the Romans were forced to offer violence to Numa Pompilius, the ſecond King of Rome, before he would accept of an authority, which ſeemed to him the more formidable, as it gave him an almoſt unlimited power, and under the ſpecious title of king and maſter, made him the actual ſervant and ſlave of all his ſubjects.

[i] Tacitus and Probus, who did ſo much honour to the royal dignity, were both advanced to the empire againſt their will. The firſt urged his great age and weakneſs, which made him incapable of marching at the head of an army; [k] but the whole ſenate anſwered, that the empire was entruſted to his underſtanding and prudence, and that it was his merit they choſe, and not his body. And a letter which Probus wrote to one of the principal officers of the empire, fully explains his real ſentiments. "I never deſired, ſays "he, the place I poſſeſs; I was raiſed to it againſt "my will, and continue in it only through an ap- "prehenſion of expoſing the republick and myſelf "to new dangers by deſerting it."

[l] Upon the death of the Emperor Maximilian, there aroſe very powerful factions in behalf of thoſe who laid claim to the empire. The two principal competitors were Francis I. and Charles V. The Electors, to put an end to theſe diſputes, reſolved to exclude them both as being foreigners, and to place the imperial crown upon one of their own nation, and of the number of the Electors. They therefore unanimouſly choſe Frederick of Saxony, ſurnamed the Wiſe, who deſired two days to conſider of it; on the

[i] Vopiſc. in Vit. Probi & Taciti.

[k] Quis melius quam ſenex imperat? Imperatorem te, non militem facimus. Tu jube, milites pugnent; animum tuum, non corpus, eligimus.

[l] Vie de Charles V. par Leti.

third

third he thanked the Electors with great modeſty, but told them that at his age he found himſelf unable to ſupport ſo great a burden. And continuing firm in this reſolution, notwithſtanding all their remonſtrances, the electors deſired he would nominate the perſon he judged moſt proper, and aſſured him they would conform to his advice. Frederick long refuſed it, but at laſt being forced upon it by the preſſing inſtances of the electors, he declared in favour of the Catholick King.

What we have here ſaid of ſovereign power may be applied to all poſts in the ſtate, and all offices of magiſtracy. The wiſeſt Princes have ſet aſide the ambitious, and raiſed ſuch as declined employments. [m] They ſaw, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of infidelity, "that the republick could only be truſted with "ſecurity to ſuch as had merit enough to fear the "adminiſtration of it." And they enquired with ſo much care after perſons worthy of the great offices of ſtate, that they found men to whom it was neceſſary to uſe violence, before they would accept of them, as Pliny obſerves of Trajan.

All theſe examples prove, that there is nothing really great in honours and dignities, but the danger which ſurrounds them; that true glory conſiſts in knowing how to look upon them with a generous comtempt, or in accepting them only for the publick good; that ſolid greatneſs conſiſts in renouncing greatneſs itſelf; that a man becomes a ſlave from the moment he is fond of it, and that he is ſuperior to it only when he contemns it.

VI. *Victories. Nobility of Blood. Abilities. Reputation.*

I join all theſe under one title, tho' very different in themſelves, becauſe they have all ſomething in them

[m] Lamprid. in Vit. Alex. Sever.

extremely

extremely flattering and deluſive, and ſeem to have ſomewhat more directly perſonal and peculiar to their poſſeſſors. But though they are ſo far ſuperior to the advantages already ſpoken of, yet ſolid glory and real greatneſs do not however conſiſt in them.

Victories.

If there be any thing capable of exalting man above his nature, and giving him a ſuperiority that diſtinguiſhes him from the reſt of mankind, it ſeems to be the glory which reſults from battles and victories. A prince, a general, marching at the head of a numerous army, whoſe eyes are all bent upon him; who by a ſingle ſignal actuates that vaſt body, of which himſelf is the ſoul, and ſets an hundred thouſand arms in motion; who carries terror and conſternation along with him wherever he goes; who ſees the ſtrongeſt ramparts and higheſt towers fall down before him; at whoſe preſence, in a word, the whole univerſe trembling and affrighted keeps ſilence; ſuch a man ſeems to be ſomething mighty grand, and to come very near the Divinity.

And yet if we coolly, rationally, and without prejudice examine the famous heroes of antiquity, thoſe illuſtrious conquerors, we ſhall often find, that this glittering ſhew of warlike actions is but a vain phantom, which may impoſe upon us at a diſtance, but diſappears and vaniſhes in proportion as we approach it; and that all this pretended glory has often had no other principle and foundation, but ambition, avarice, injuſtice and cruelty.

This Seneca obſerves of the greateſt warriors, and ſuch as have had the largeſt ſhare in the admiration of all ages. We find, [a] ſays he, abundance of heroes, who have carried fire and ſword into many nations, have ſtormed towns which till their time were held

[a] Senec. Ep. 94.

impregnable,

impregnable, have conquered and ravaged vaſt provinces, and marched to the utmoſt limits of the earth, covered over with the blood of all oppoſers. But theſe conquerors of ſo many nations were themſelves overcome by their paſſions. They found no body that could reſiſt them, but were themſelves unable to reſiſt their own ambition and cruelty.

Can we call the furious diſpoſition of Alexander, which led him into diſtant and unknown countries, only with a view to plunder them, by any other name than madneſs? Was he wiſe, for depriving every private man, every country, of what was moſt dear and valuable, and for ſpreading deſolation wherever he came, beginning with Greece, to which he owed his education? How intoxicated muſt he have been with glory, who thought the whole world too little for him? [o] He one day aſked a pirate, whom he had taken, what right he thought he had to infeſt the ſeas. "The "ſame, anſwered he, boldly, that you have to over-"run the world. But becauſe I do it in a ſmall veſ-"ſel, I am called a robber; and you are named a "conqueror, for doing it with a great fleet." A very ſharp anſwer, and what is more, a true one.

[p] What was it that extinguiſhed in the heart of Cæſar, all the ſentiments of fidelity, ſubmiſſion, juſtice, humanity, and gratitude he owed to his republick, which had choſen him from the reſt of the citizens, to advance him to the higheſt command, and laviſh upon him its honours and dignities, but an immoderate ambition, and an illuſion of falſe glory, which inſpired him with an ardent deſire of ſeeing all mankind under ſubjection to himſelf, and induced him to ſay, that he

[o] Elegantèr & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehenſus pirata reſpondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogaſſet, quid ei videretur, ut mare haberet infeſtum; ille libera contumacia: quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magna claſſe, imperator. A fragment of Tully's third book de Republ. quoted by S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 4. c. 4.

[p] Quid C. Cæſarem in ſua fata pariter ac publica immiſit? Gloria & ambitio, & nullus ſupra ceteros eminendi modus. Sen. Ep. 94.

would

ould rather chuſe to be the principal man in a vil-
ge, than the ſecond in Rome? What other motive
duced him to turn thoſe very arms againſt his coun-
r, ſhe had put into his hands to be employed againſt
e enemies of the ſtate, and to make uſe of all the
wer and greatneſs he held only from her, to put her
the ſword, after having deluged her in the blood of
r children? [q] He doubtleſs thought, as Civilis the
ief of the rebels, who endeavoured to ſhake off the
oman yoke, expreſſed it, that nothing was unlawful
a man when in arms, nor any body accountable
r a victory; *victoriæ rationem non reddi.*

Every equitable and rational man, who ſhall read
er attentively all the lives of the famous men among
e Greeks and Romans, as they ſtand in Plutarch;
he examines and aſks his own heart the queſtion,
ll find, that 'tis not Alexander or Cæſar he prefers
fore all the reſt; that they were neither the greateſt,
r the moſt accompliſhed, nor ſuch as did the moſt
nour to human nature; and that he does not judge
em to be moſt deſerving his eſteem, love, and
neration, nor of the juſt praiſes of poſterity.

Beſides, military valour often leaves the men whom
nqueſts have made famous, very weak and mean at
ier times, and with reference to other objects.
Made up of good and bad qualities, they ſtrive to
pear great, when expoſed to open view; but return
their natural littleneſs, as ſoon as they are left to
emſelves, and the eyes of mankind taken off from
em. 'Tis ſurprizing, when we ſee them alone and
thout armies, what a mighty difference there is be-
een a general and a great man.

In order to their paſſing a right judgment upon theſe
nous conquerors, 'tis neceſſary to teach youth care-
lly to diſtinguiſh what is valuable in them from what
ſerves to be cenſured. In doing juſtice to their

[q] Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 14.

[r] Malis bonisque artibus mix-
, &c. Palam laudares: ſecreta
malè audiebant. Tacit. Hiſt. lib.
1. cap. 10.

courage,

courage, activity, ability in buſineſs, and prudence, they muſt be blamed for frequently miſtaking the uſe they ſhould have made of thoſe great qualifications, and employing ſuch talents, as in themſelves are always eſtimable, to the gratification of their vices and paſſions, which ſhould have been made ſubſervient only to virtue. For want of diſtinguiſhing things ſo different, it is but too uſual to confound their real with their pretended motives, the private ends they propoſed to themſelves with the means of attaining them, and their abilities with the abuſe they have made of them, and by an error ſtill more pernicious, in ſuffering ourſelves to be too much carried away by their great actions, which have luſtre enough to conceal their vices and injuſtice, we pay them an entire and unexceptionable regard, and accuſtom inattentive perſons to place vice in the room of virtue, and highly commend what deſerves to be blamed. 'Tis the juſtice of the war, and the wiſdom of the conqueror alone, which can render a victory glorious and worthy our admiration. For it muſt be laid down as a principle, that glory and juſtice are inſeparable; [s] *Nihil honeſtum eſſe poteſt, quod juſtitiâ vacat*; and [t] if 'tis private paſſion, and not the publick advantage, that puts us upon facing dangers, ſuch a diſpoſition does not deſerve the name of courage and reſolution, but ſhould rather be called ferocity and audacionſneſs.

[u] A memorable ſpeech of the Chevalier Bayard's, as he was dying, ſhews the truth of what I have here been ſpeaking. He had received a mortal wound, as he was fighting for his King, and was lying down at the foot of a tree. The conſtable duke de Bourbon, who was purſuing the army of the French, paſſing by and knowing him, told him he was very much concerned to ſee a perſon of his merit in ſuch a condition.

[s] Offic. lib. 1. n. 62.

[t] Animus paratus ad periculum, ſi ſua cupiditate, non utilitate communi impellitur, audacia potius nomen habeat, quam fortitudinis. Ibid. n. 63.

[u] Hiſt. du Cheval. Bayard.

Captain

Captain Bayard anſwered him, *Sir, there is no concern due to me, for I die like an honeſt man: but I am concerned for you indeed, to ſee you fighting againſt your Prince, your country, and your oath.* And ſhortly after he gave up the ghoſt. Now where lay the glory? on the ſide of the conqueror? or was not the fate of the dying perſon far preferable to his?

Nobility of Birth.

It muſt be owned there is a powerful charm[w] in nobility of birth and the antiquity of families, to procure eſteem, and gain upon the inclinations of mankind. This reſpect which it is natural to have for nobility, [x] is a kind of homage we think ourſelves ſtill obliged to pay to the memory of their anceſtors for the great ſervices they have done the ſtate, and is the continued payment of a debt, which could not fully be diſcharged to them in perſon; and for this reaſon extends to all their poſterity.

[y] Beſides the tie of gratitude, which engages us not to limit our reſpect for great men to the time wherein they live, as they do not themſelves confine their zeal to ſuch narrow bounds, but ſtrive to become uſeful to future ages; [z] the publick intereſt requires, that we ſhould pay this tribute of honour and regard to their deſcendants, as it is an engagement to them to ſupport and perpetuate the reputation of their anceſtors in their family, by endeavouring to perpetuate alſo the ſame virtues, which have rendered their predeceſſors ſo illuſtrious.

w Erat hominum opinioni nobilitate ipſa, blanda conciliatricula, commendatus. Cic. pro Sext. n. 21.

x Qua in oratione plerique hoc perficiunt, ut tantum majoribus eorum debitum eſſe videatur, unde etiam, quod poſteris ſolveretur, redundaret. De leg. Agr. ad popul. n. 1.

y Senec. de Benef. lib. 4. cap. 30.

z Omnes boni ſemper nobilitati favemus, & quia utile eſt reipublicæ nobiles homines eſſe dignos majoribus ſuis, & quia valet apud nos clarorum hominum, & bene de republica meritorum, memoria etiam mortuorum. Cic. pro Sext. n. 21.

But to make this honour, which is paid to nobility, a real homage, it muſt be voluntary, and proceed from the heart. The moment it is claimed as a debt, or forcibly demanded, the right to it is loſt, and it changes into hatred and contempt. People are too well pleaſed with themſelves not to be offended at the haughtineſs of a man, who thinks every thing is due to him becauſe he is well-born, and looks down from the height of his rank with contempt upon the reſt of mankind. For what mighty glory is it in reality to reckon up a long ſeries of anceſtors, illuſtrious by their virtues, without bearing any reſemblance to them? Is the merit of others transferred upon us? [a] Or will a large collection of family pictures, hung round a hall, make a man conſiderable? If the honour of families conſiſts in being able to trace back their pedigree to diſtant ages, till they loſe themſelves in the darkneſs of an obſcure and unknown antiquity, [b] we are all equally noble in this reſpect; for we had all an original equally ancient.

[c] We muſt therefore return to the only ſource of true nobility, which is virtue and merit. [d] Nobles have been ſeen to diſhonour their name by low and abject vices, and perſons of mean extraction have advanced and ennobled their families by great qualities. 'Tis honourable to ſupport the glory of one's anceſtors by actions, which correſpond with their reputation; and it is alſo glorious to leave a title to one's deſcendants, which is not borrowed from our predeceſſors; to become the head and author of our own nobility; and, to uſe the expreſſion of Tiberius, who was deſirous of hiding the defect of birth in Curtius Rufus, though otherwiſe a very great man, [e] *to be born of one's own ſelf.*

[a] Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumoſis imaginibus.... Animus facit nobilem. Senec. Ep. 44.

[b] Eadem omnibus principia, eademque origo. Nemo altero nobilior, niſi cui rectius ingenium, & artibus bonis aptius. Senec. lib. 3. de benef. cap. 28.

[c] Nobilitas ſola eſt atque unica virtus. Juv. lib. 3. ſat. 8.

[d] Senec. controv. 6. lib. 1.

[e] Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex ſe natus. Tacit. annal. lib. 11.

"I can-

"I cannot," ſaid formerly an illuſtrious Roman, who was reproached by the nobility for his low extraction, "publickly produce the ſtatues of my anceſtors, their triumphs, nor their conſulſhips; but if need be, I can produce the military rewards I have been honoured with, I can ſhew the wounds I have received in fighting for my country. [f] Theſe are my ſtatues, theſe my titles to nobility, which I have not borrowed from my anceſtors, but acquired by the labours and dangers I have undergone."

[g] There was at Rome, in the beginning of the republick, a kind of open war between the nobility and the people. The nobles at firſt thought themſelves diſhonoured by marrying into a plebeian family. They looked upon themſelves as another ſpecies of men. It ſeemed as if they could not bear that the populace ſhould breathe the ſame air with them, or enjoy the ſame benefit of the ſun's light. And they had ſet ſuch a barrier between the people and honours, that merit was ſcarce able afterward to break through it. There always remained ſomething of this oppoſition and antipathy between the two orders; and Salluſt obſerves, ſpeaking of Metellus, that his excellent qualities were ſullied and tarniſhed by an air of haughtineſs and contempt; a fault, ſays he, which is but too uſual among the nobility. [h] *Cui quanquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis ſuperabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus & ſuperbia, commune nobilitatis malum.*

We ſhould therefore conſider, that the nobility ariſing from birth is by far inferior to that which proceeds from merit; and to be convinced of it we need only compare them together. [i] Pope Clement VIII. made a promotion of ſeveral cardinals, and among the reſt he advanced two Frenchmen, M. d'Oſſat, and the count de la Chapelle, who afterwards took the

[f] Hæc ſunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis, ſed quæ ego plurimis meis laboribus & periculis quæſivi. Salluſt, in bello Jugurth.

[g] Liv. lib. 4. n. 3.

[h] Sall. in bell. Jugurth.

[i] Vie du Card. d'Oſſat, par M. Amelot.

name of cardinal de Sourdis, from the eſtate of his family; the former, a man, *in whom the Pope found nothing wanting but a deſcent from a better family*, he was ſo well ſupplied with every other qualification; and the other a perſon that had nothing but his family to recommend him. Which of theſe two would one chuſe to reſemble moſt?

[k] Cardinal Granville, ſpeaking of cardinal Ximenes, was wont to ſay, *That time had oft concealed the original of great men under the veils of oblivion; that the latter was doubtleſs ſprung from royal blood, or at leaſt he had the heart of a King in the perſon of a private man.*

But if it ſhews a greatneſs of ſoul to overlook our own nobility, and not ſuffer it to gain the aſcendant over our actions; we may likewiſe obſerve, that it is no leſs great in ſuch as have raiſed themſelves by merit, not to forget the meanneſs of their extraction, nor to be aſhamed of it.

[l] Veſpaſian did not only not ſeek to hide it, but would often glory in it; and publickly made a jeſt of thoſe, who by a falſe genealogy would have derived his pedigree from Hercules.

[m] The ſame emperor, without being aſhamed of an object which continually renewed the remembrance of his original, went conſtantly every year, even after he came to the empire, to paſs his ſummer in a ſmall country-houſe near Rieti, where he was born, and to which he would never make any addition or embelliſhment. [n] His ſon Titus cauſed himſelf to be carried thither in his laſt illneſs, that he might die in the place where his father had begun and ended his days. [o] Pertinax, the greateſt man of his age, and ſoon after advanced to the empire, during the three years he tarried in Liguria, lodged in his father's houſe; and raiſing a great number of fine buildings around it, he

k Hiſt. de Ximen. par M. Fleſchier, liv. 6.

l Suet. in vit. Veſp. c. 12.

m Ibid. c. 2.

n Suet vit. Tit. c. 11.

o Capitolin. vit. Pert.

left

left the [p] cottage in the midſt, an illuſtrious monument of his low birth, and his greatneſs of ſoul. One would think that theſe Princes affected to recal the memory of their former condition, ſo much the greatneſs of their perſonal merit (ſenſible it could ſuſtain itſelf) was above any outward ſupport. In ſhort, we do not ſee throughout the whole Roman empire, that any body ever reproached them with the obſcurity of their original, or abated one tittle of the veneration due to their virtues upon this account.

[q] Pope Benedict XII. was the ſon of a miller, whence he came to be called the *White Cardinal.* He never forgot his former condition: and when he was upon marrying his niece, he refuſed to give her to the great lords who ſued for her, and married her to a tradeſman. He ſaid, the Popes ſhould be like Melchiſedeck, without relations; and often uſed theſe words of the Prophet, [r] *If they that belong to me get not dominion, I ſhall be undefiled, and innocent from the great offence.*

[s] John de [t] Brogni, cardinal de Viviers, who preſided at the council of Conſtance as dean of the cardinals, had been a hog-driver in his infancy. Some monks paſſing by as he was buſied in that ſorry employment, and taking notice of his wit and vivacity, offered to carry him to Rome, and bring him up to ſtudy. The boy accepted of their offer, and went ſtraight to a ſhoemaker to buy a pair of ſhoes for his journey; the ſhoemaker truſted him with part of the price, and told him ſmiling, he ſhould pay the reſt when he was made a cardinal. He became a cardinal in reality, and was not only not unmindful of his former low condition, but took care to perpetuate the memory of it. In a chapel he built at [u] Geneva, over-againſt the gate of St. Peter's church, he cauſed this adventure to be carved in ſtone, where he is repreſented young

p Tabernam.
q Dict. de Moreri.
r Pſ. xix. 13.
s Hiſt. du conc. de Conſtance, par J. l'Infant.
t Progni is a village near Anneci, between Chamberi and Geneva.
u He was for ſome time biſhop of that ſee.

and without ſhoes, keeping hogs under a tree; and all around the wall are the figures of ſhoes, to expreſs the favour he had received from the ſhoemaker. This monument is ſtill ſubſiſting at Geneva.

Talents of the mind.

How ſplendid ſoever the glory of arms and birth may appear, there is ſtill ſomething which more nearly concerns us, which we derive from learning and the talents of the mind. This ſeems to be more immediately our own, and entirely peculiar to us. 'Tis not limited like that of arms to certain times and occaſions, nor depends upon a thouſand foreign aſſiſtances. It gives a man a ſuperiority far more agreeable than that which proceeds from riches, birth, or employments, as theſe are all external; whereas the mind is properly our own, or rather is ourſelves, and conſtitutes our very eſſence.

Yet it is not the mind alone in which the ſolid glory of man conſiſts. Suppoſe him excellent in himſelf, and adorned with the knowledge of every thing that is moſt curious and exquiſite in the ſciences, philoſophy, mathematicks, hiſtory, the *belles lettres*, poetry and eloquence. All theſe make a man learned, but do not make him good. [w] *Non faciunt bonos iſta, ſed doctos.* And if a man be only learned, what is he very often but a vain, obſtinate creature, full of himſelf, and deſpiſing all others, and in one word, an *animal of glory?* For thus Tertullian deſcribes the moſt learned among the heathen, *animal gloriæ.*

Can any thing be more pitiful, or more contemptible, than ſuch a man, vainly puffed up with the notion of his own learning and abilities, greedy and inſatiable after praiſe, feeding upon wind and ſmoke, and ſtriving only to live in the opinion of others? [x] Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, beautifully expoſed

[w] Senec. Ep 106. [x] Ælian. lib. 12, cap. 51. Athen. l. 7. cap. 12.

the

the ridicule of this character in a phyſician named Menecrates, who had the vanity to take upon himſelf the ſurname of *Jupiter Servator*, upon account of ſome extraordinary cures he had wrought, which he attributed wholly to his own ſkill. Having invited him to dinner, he was placed at table by himſelf, on which was ſerved up a veſſel ſmoaking with incenſe. The doctor at firſt thought himſelf highly honoured, but having nothing to eat during the reſt of the entertainment, he ſoon perceived the meaning of the ſmoke of the incenſe; and thus ſerving for a laughing-ſtock to the reſt of the company, he went away hungry from the feaſt with the title of Jupiter, and the ſhame he had ſo juſtly deſerved, in aſcribing to his own abilities a ſucceſs derived from heaven.

The honour, therefore, which ſcience and genius confers, does not reſult merely from learning, and the talents of the mind, but the good uſe made of them; and we may truly ſay, that modeſty exalts their luſtre and value infinitely more than any thing elſe. 'Tis a pleaſure to ſee great men ſometimes owning themſelves in the wrong, as the famous [y] Hippocrates has done in relation to one of the ſutures of the ſkull, about which he had been led into a miſtake. Such a confeſſion, as [z] Celſus obſerves, referring to the paſſage I am ſpeaking of, argues an uncommon fund of merit in the perſon that makes it, and an elevation of ſoul which is very ſenſible that ſuch ſlips are not capable of being any prejudice to it; whereas a little mind, which cannot diſguiſe its poverty, is careful to run no riſque, nor willing to loſe the ſmalleſt ſhare of the little it poſſeſſes.

'Tis a pleaſure alſo to ſee learned men diſputing without bitterneſs, anger, or paſſion, as Tully tells

y Lib. ἐπιδημιῶν ε.

z De futuris ſe deceptum eſſe Hippocrates memoriæ prodidit, more magnorum virorum, & fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil ſibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habituro, convenit etiam veri erroris ſimplex confeſſio. Celſ. lib. 8. cap. 4.

us, he was diſpoſed to do: [a] *Nos & refellere ſine pertinacia, & refelli ſine iracundia, parati ſumus.* Our age has furniſhed us with ſeveral inſtances of this virtue; but had we no other than F. Mabillion, he would do infinite honour to literature. In his diſputes with the famous Abbé de la Trape, his mildneſs and moderation, as we all know, gave him a great advantage over his adverſary. There was another, who was able to diſpute with him as well in point of modeſty as learning; this was F. Papebrochius, who gave occaſion to his writing his book *de re diplomatica.*

I own, ſays this learned jeſuit, in a Latin letter he wrote to F. Mabillon upon this ſubject, which he gave him leave to publiſh, "that I have no other ſatisfaction in having written upon this matter, than that of having given you an opportunity of drawing up ſo accurate a performance. 'Tis true at firſt I found ſome uneaſineſs, upon reading your book, to ſee myſelf confuted in ſuch a manner, as I knew not how to anſwer; but the uſefulneſs and beauty of ſo valuable a work ſoon conquered my weakneſs; and overjoyed to ſee the truth ſet in ſo clear a light, I invited my companion in ſtudy to ſhare with me in my admiration. For which reaſon, make no ſcruple, as often as you have opportunity, to declare publickly, that I am wholly of your opinion."

There is an artificial and ſtudied modeſty, which covers a ſecret pride; but here we have an ingenuous ſimplicity, which ſhews plainly it came from the heart. I cannot finiſh what I have to ſay upon F. Mabillon, without taking notice that the late archbiſhop of Rheims (le Tellier) preſenting him to King Lewis XIV. ſaid to him thus, *Sir, I have the honour to preſent to your Majeſty the moſt learned and moſt modeſt monk in your kingdom.*

Another character ſtill, which is very amiable in a man of learning, is to be always ready to let others ſhare in his labours, to communicate his remarks to

[a] Acad. Queſt. lib. 2. n. 5.

them,

them, to aſſiſt them with his reflections, and to contribute to the utmoſt of his power to the perfection of their works. I queſtion whether any one ever carried this point farther than M. de Tillemont. His collections and extracts, which were the fruit of many years labour, became the property of every one that had occaſion for them. He was never afraid, as is too uſual amongſt men of learning, that his works ſhould loſe the merit of invention, or the grace of novelty, by being ſhewn to others before they were publiſhed. And the ſame praiſe is due to [b] M. d'Herouval. Though a contempt of glory and vain reputation prevented him from publiſhing any thing himſelf, yet his zeal for the publick good gave him a ſhare in almoſt all the works that were ſent abroad in his time, by his communicating to the authors his diſcoveries, his obſervations, and his manuſcripts.

Reputation.

This is looked upon as the deareſt and moſt valuable treaſure belonging to mankind, even by perſons of the greateſt probity, and an indifference concerning it, and much more the deſpiſing it, ſeem abſolutely not to be admitted. [c] What can be expected indeed from one that is unconcerned about the judgment which the reſt of the world, and eſpecially men of honeſty, ſhall paſs upon his conduct? 'Tis not only, as Tully obſerves, the ſign of inſupportable pride and conceitedneſs, but the mark of having perfectly abandoned all modeſty.

And yet to be over-ſolicitous after praiſe, to be greedy of it and eager in purſuing it, and to ſeem in ſome meaſure to beg it, inſtead of being the character of a great ſoul, is the moſt certain ſign of a vain and

[b] Ant. de Vion, auditeur des comptes.

[c] Adhibenda eſt quædam reverentia & optimi cujuſque, & reliquorum. Nam negligere quid de ſe quiſque ſentiat, non ſolum arrogantis eſt, ſed etiam omnino diſſoluti. Offic. lib. 1. n. 99.

light diſpoſition, which feeds upon wind, and takes the ſhadow for the ſubſtance.

Yet this is the weakneſs of the moſt part of mankind, and ſometimes even of ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed by peculiar merit, which induces them often to ſeek for glory where it is not to be found.

[d] Philip of Macedon was not the moſt ſcrupulous in his choice of the means, which were to procure him a ſolid reputation. He was fond of every kind of glory, and on every kind of occaſion. He was, as an orator, vain of his eloquence. He reckoned upon the victories his chariots had gained in the Olympick Games, and took great care to have them engraved on his coins. He gave leſſons in muſick, and undertook to correct the maſters of it; which occaſioned one of them to make that ingenious anſwer, which, without offence, was very capable of ſhewing him his error: *God forbid, Sir, you ſhould ever be ſo unhappy as to know theſe matters better than I do.* He himſelf gave a like leſſon to his ſon, for having ſhewn too much ſkill in muſick at an entertainment; *Are you not aſhamed,* ſays he to him, *that you can ſing ſo well?* In ſhort, there are certain branches of knowledge, which are very commendable in private perſons, whoſe only buſineſs it is to follow them, that a Prince ought but ſlightly to be acquainted with, as it would be beneath his dignity to affect a greater ſkill in them, and as his time ought to be taken up in matters of greater weight and importance. [e] Nero, who did not want for wit and ſpirit, was blamed for neglecting the occupations proper to his ſtation, and amuſing himſelf with engraving, painting, ſinging, and driving of chariots. A Prince, who has a taſte of true glory, does not aſpire to ſuch a reputation. He underſtands what it is deſerves his application, and from what he ſhould

[d] Plut. in vit. Alex.

[e] Nero puerilibus ſtatim annis vividum animum in alia detorſit, cælare, & pingere, cantus aut regimen equorum exercere. Tacit. Annal. lib. 13. cap. 3.

abſtain;

bſtain; and how great an inclination ſoever he may ave for the ſciences, even the moſt valuable, he does ot give himſelf up entirely to them, but ſtudies them ke a Prince, with that ſober and diſcreet mode- ation, which [f] Tacitus admired in his father-in- w Agricola, *Retinuit, quod eſt difficillimum, ex ſapi- ntia modum.*

[g] Tully finds a pitiful vanity in the ſecret joy hich Demoſthenes felt upon hearing himſelf praiſed y a poor herb-woman, as he was paſſing by. And et he himſelf was much fonder of commendation an the Greek orator.

[h] This he freely owns upon an occaſion where he rprizingly deſcribes the effects of human weakneſs. le was returning from Sicily, where he had been uæſtor, with a ſtrong imagination that nothing was lked of in Italy but himſelf, and that his quæſtor- ip was the ſubject of every tongue. Paſſing by Puz- oli, whither the baths had drawn abundance of com- ny, Is it long, ſays ſomebody to him, ſince you ft Rome? Pray what is doing there? I, ſays he in eat ſurprize, am juſt come from my province. That's ue, ſays the other, I beg pardon, from Africa. No, nſwers Tully with an air of ſcorn and indignation, om Sicily. Why, ſays a third, who pretended to now more than the reſt, don't you know that he s been quæſtor at Syracuſe? where indeed he had ot, for his province lay in a different part of the and. Tully was quite out of countenance, and to id of the affair, threw himſelf into the crowd, nd ſo marched off: and this adventure, he adds, as more uſeful to him, than all the compliments e had expected could have been.

And yet it does not appear that he was leſs fond praiſe afterwards, than he had been before. All e world knows how carefully he laid hold of every

f Vit. Agric. cap. 4.
g Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 5, n. 103.
h Cic. Orat. pro Planc. n. 64, 66.

opportunity to talk of himſelf, ſo as to become inſupportable. But nothing lets us more into his character than his [j] letter to the hiſtorian Lucceius, in which he openly and ingenuouſly diſcovers his weakneſs in this particular. He preſſed him to write the hiſtory of his conſulſhip, and publiſh it in his lifetime; to the end, ſaid he, that I may be the better known, and perſonally enjoy my glory and reputation; *ut & cæteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoſcant, & noſmet ipſi vivi gloriola noſtra perfruamur.* He importunes him not to keep ſcrupulouſly to the ſtrict laws of hiſtory, but to make ſome allowances to friendſhip, even at the expence of truth, and not be afraid of ſpeaking more to his advantage, than perhaps he thought was due. *Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut & ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortaſſe ſentis, & in eo leges hiſtoriæ negligas, . . . amorique noſtro pluſculum etiam, quam concedit veritas, largiaris.*

Such are almoſt all mankind, and often without perceiving it themſelves. For, to hear Tully talk, he was as remote as poſſible from any ſuch weakneſs. [k] *Nihil eſt in me inane*, ſays he to Brutus, *neque enim debet.* No body, [l] ſays he again in a letter to Cato, was ever leſs fond of commendation and the vain applauſes of the people than I am. *Si quiſquam fuit unquam remotus à natura, & magis etiam (ut mihi quidem ſentire videor) ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & fermendâ cupidi, ego is ſum.*

To comprehend the better how little and mean this vanity is, we need but open our eyes, and conſider how great and noble is the oppoſite conduct. A few choice articles, which I ſhall here propoſe, will ſet the matter in a clear light.

I. *To bear praiſe with pain, and to ſpeak of one's ſelf with modeſty.*

This virtue, which ſeems to throw a veil over the moſt glorious actions, and is careful only to conceal

[j] Ep. 12. lib. 5. [k] Ad Brut. ep. 3. [l] Ep. 4. lib. 15. ad Famil.

the

them, ſerves to ſet them off the more, and give them a greater luſtre.

Niger, who took the title of Emperor in the Eaſt, refuſed the panegyrick they would have ſpoke in his praiſe, and made himſelf the more deſerving of it by his motives for refuſing it. Make, ſays he, a panegyrick upon the commanders of old, that what they have done may teach us what we ſhould do. For it is a jeſt to ſpeak in praiſe of a man that is alive, and eſpecially a Prince; it is not to commend him for doing well, but to flatter him in hopes of a reward. For my own part, I ſhould chuſe to be beloved whilſt I live, and praiſed when I am dead.

" Thoſe, " [m] ſays M. Nicole in his moral eſſays, " who have heard the two greateſt officers of this age " (M. le Prince, and M. de Turenne) talk of the war, " have always been raviſhed with the modeſty of " their diſcourſe. No body ever obſerved the leaſt " word to fall from them upon this ſubject, which " could be ſuſpected of vanity. They have been ever " ſeen to do juſtice to all the world beſides, and " never to themſelves; and one would often imagine " when they heard them give an account of battles, " in which their valour and conduct had the greateſt " ſhare, either that they had not been preſent, or that " they had been only idle ſpectators. Thoſe perſons, " whom we ſee ſo full of the occaſions wherein they " have ſignalized themſelves, as to deafen all the " world with their accounts of them, as in the caſe " of Cicero's conſulſhip, do thereby ſhew, that virtue " is ſcarce natural to them, and that they have been " obliged to take a great deal of pains to work up their " ſouls to the condition they are ſo glad to appear in. " But there is far more greatneſs in making no re- " flection upon our greateſt actions, ſo that they may " ſeem to fall from us with no conſtraint, and ſpring

[m] Second traité de la charité & de l'amour propre, ch. 5.

" ſo

" ſo naturally from the diſpoſition of our ſouls, that " it does not obſerve them."

II. *Heartily to contribute to the reputation of others.*

[a] Scipio Africanus, that he might procure his brother the command in the important war which was to be made againſt Antiochus the Great, engaged to ſerve under him, as one of his lieutenants. In this ſubaltern poſt, he was ſo far from endeavouring to divide the honour of the victory with his brother, that he made it both a duty and a pleaſure to leave the glory of it entirely to him, and to make him his equal in every reſpect, by the defeat of an enemy no leſs formidable than Hannibal, and by the title of Aſiaticus, as glorious as that of Africanus.

[b] M. Aurelius, from a like delicacy, and as generous a diſregard of glory, denied himſelf the pleaſure of attending upon his daughter Lucilla into the Eaſt, whom he married to Lucius Verus, at that time engaged in the war with Parthia, leſt his preſence ſhould check the growing reputation of his ſon-in-law, and ſeem to draw upon himſelf the honour of putting an end to that important war, to the other's prejudice.

We know with what fidelity and ſubmiſſion [c] Cyrus referred all the glory of his exploits to his uncle and father-in-law Cyaxares; with what carefulneſs [d] Agricola, who compleated the conqueſt of Britain, honoured his ſuperiors with all his ſucceſſes; and with what modeſty he gave up part of his own reputation, to advance theirs.

[e] Plutarch gives an account of the moderation of his conduct in the diſcharge of the commiſſion he was entruſted with by his own city, who had ſent him as their deputy to the pro-conſul of the province. His collegue being obliged to ſtay behind by the way, he

[a] Liv. l. 37.
[b] Vit. M. Aurel.
[c] Xenoph. in Cyrop.
[d] Tacit. in vit. Agricol.
[e] Plut. in præc. reip. ger.

diſcharged

diſcharged the commiſſion alone, and ſucceeded in it. At his return, when upon the point of giving a publick account of his deputation, his father adviſed him not to ſpeak of himſelf in his own name as ſingle, but as though his collegue had been preſent, and they had concerted and executed the whole together. And his motive for giving him this wiſe advice was, becauſe [s] ſuch a procedure was not only equitable and humane, but would leſſen the glory of the ſucceſs, which uſually afflicts and enflames envy.

[t] What Tully ſays of the perfect union which ſubſiſted betwixt him and Hortenſius, and the mutual care they took to aſſiſt one another at the bar, to communicate reciprocally what they knew, and to promote each other's credit, is a very rare example in perſons of the ſame profeſſion, and at the ſame time very worthy of imitation. [u] An hiſtorian obſerves, that Atticus their common friend was the band of this intimate union; and it was by his means that the emulation of glory, in theſe two famous orators, was not impaired by any mean ſentiments of envy and jealouſy.

[w] Lælius, the intimate friend of the ſecond Scipio, had twice pleaded in a very important cauſe, and the judges had twice ordered a more ample enquiry. The parties exhorting him not to be diſcouraged, he perſuaded them to put their affair into the hands of Galba, who was a fitter perſon than he to plead for them, as he ſpoke with more force and vehemence. In ſhort, Galba, at a ſingle hearing, carried all the voices, and abſolutely gained his cauſe. Such a diſintereſted diſpoſition in point of reputation muſt be owned to have ſomething very great in it. But, ſays Cicero, it was

[s] Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπιεικὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ φιλάνθρωπον ἐςὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιρεῖ τῇ δίξῃ.

[t] Semper alter ab altero adjutus, & communicando, & monendo, & favendo. Brut. n. 3.

[u] Efficiebat, ut inter quos tanta laudis eſſet æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio, eſſetque talium virorum copula. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attic. cap. 5

[w] De clar. orat. n. 85—88.

then

then customary to do justice to another's merit without scruple. *Erat animus tum meus, ut faciles esset in suum cuique tribuendo.*

I have always admired the ingenuity and candour of Virgil, who was under no apprehension, by introducing Horace to Mæcenas, of raising himself a rival, that might contend with him for wit and genius; and if not entirely carry away, at least divide with him the favours and good graces of their common protector. But, says Horace, we do not live thus at Mæcenas's. Never was house more removed from such mean sentiments than his, nor a purer and more noble manner of living any where practised. The merit and credit of one never gives offence to another. Every one had his place, and was content with it.

Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hæc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mi officit unquam,
Dicor his, aut quia doctior. Est locus uni
Cuique suus [x].

III. *To sacrifice his own reputation for the good of the publick.*

[y] There are some occasions, in which an honest man is obliged to sacrifice his reputation to preserve his virtue; to give up his glory for a time, that he may not part with his conscience, and march with a firm resolution where duty calls him amidst reproach and infamy, by courageously despising the contempt thrown upon him. Nothing is a greater sign of a

[x] Horat. Sat. 6. lib. 1.

[y] Altissimo animo ad honestatem quædam infamia, et gloriæ quidem impendenda est. Nemo nobilem virum putat animum existimationi, nomini hujus sæculi esse servaturi, quam qui levi viri famam perdidit, ne conscientiam perderet. Senec. ep. 81.

Æquo animo audienda sunt imperitorum convicia, et ad honesta valenti e memmendus est iste contemptus. Id. ep. 76.

steady

ſteady adherence to virtue, than a ſacrifice ſo generous, and at the ſame time ſo repugnant to human nature.

[z] Plutarch obſerves that Pericles, at a time when all the citizens were crying out againſt him, and blaming his conduct, like an able pilot, who in a ſtorm regards only the rules of his art for ſaving the ſhip, and overlooks the cries, lamentations and prayers of all around him; that Pericles, I ſay, after having taken all poſſible precaution for the ſecurity of the ſtate, purſued his own ſcheme without troubling himſelf about the murmurs, complainings, threats, injurious ballads, railleries, inſults, and accuſations thrown out againſt him.

[a] 'Twas a good piece of advice the wiſe Fabius gave to the conſul Paulus Æmilius, as he was ſetting out for the army. He exhorted him to deſpiſe the railleries and unjuſt reproaches of his collegue, to be above any reports that might be raiſed to his prejudice, and diſregard all the pains that might be taken to diſgrace or diſhonour him.

Fabius himſelf acted in the ſame manner in the war againſt Hannibal, and ſaved the commonwealth. Notwithſtanding the great inſult he received from Minucius, he reſcued him from the hands of Hannibal, [b] ſetting aſide his reſentment, and conſulting only his zeal for the publick good.

Theſe examples are well known, but are ſcarce followed by any body in theſe days. Men are not attached to the ſtate by any real ties, they often ſerve the publick out of a view to their private intereſt. Upon the leaſt diſguſt they quit the ſervice; and this diſguſt is often founded upon a falſe notion of honour, which takes offence at a very juſt preference. There are few who talk and think like the Lacedæmonian, that ſeeing himſelf left out of the new erected council, ſaid, he was overjoyed to find there were three hundred better men in the city than himſelf.

[z] In vit. Pericl.
[a] Liv. lib. 22. n. 34.
[b] Habuit in conſilio fortunam publicam, dolorem ultionemque ſepoſuit. Senec. lib. 1. de ira, cap. 11.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Wherein ſolid glory and real greatneſs conſiſt.

Whatever is external to a man, whatever may be common to good and bad, does not make him truly eſtimable; we muſt judge of men by the heart. From thence proceed great deſigns, great actions, great virtues. Solid glory, which cannot be imitated by pride, nor equalled by pomp, reſides in perſonal qualifications and noble ſentiments. To be good, liberal, beneficent, and generous; to value riches only for the ſake of diſtributing them, places of honour for the ſervice of our country, power and credit to be in a condition to ſuppreſs vice and reward virtue; to be really good without ſeeking to appear ſo; to bear poverty nobly, to ſuffer injuries and affronts with patience, to ſtifle reſentment, and to do every good office to an enemy when we have it in our power to be revenged of him; to prefer the publick good to every thing; to ſacrifice our wealth, repoſe, life, and fame, if neceſſary to it: theſe make a man truly great and eſtimable.

Take away probity from the moſt ſhining actions, the moſt valuable qualities, and what are they but objects of contempt? Are the drunkenneſs of Alexander, the murder of his beſt friends, his inſatiable thirſt of praiſe and flattery, and his vanity in deſiring to paſs for the ſon of Jupiter, [a] though he did not believe it himſelf; are theſe conſiſtent with the character of a great Prince! When we ſee Marius, and after him Sylla, ſhedding torrents of Roman blood for the eſtabliſhment of their own power, what regard can we pay their victories and triumphs?

[a] Omnes, ut quis Alexander, jurant me Jovis eſſe filium; ſed vultus hoc hominem me eſſe clamat. Senec, ep. 59.

On

On the other hand, when we hear the Emperor Titus utter that celebrated expreſſion, [a] *My friends, I have loſt a day*, becauſe he had done good to no body; [b] and another, upon being preſſed to ſign a warrant for execution, ſaying, *I wiſh I could not write*; or the Emperor Theodoſius, after having ſet the priſoners at liberty on an Eaſter-day, *Would to God, I could alſo open the graves, and give life to the dead*; when we ſee a young Scipio courageouſly ſurmounting a paſſion, which ſubdues almoſt all mankind; and upon another occaſion giving lectures of continence and wiſdom to a young Prince, who had ſwerved from his duty; when we ſee a tribune of the people, a declared enemy of this Scipio's, loudly to take upon him his defence againſt the unjuſt accuſers, who had conſpired his deſtruction; [c] and laſtly, when we read in hiſtory any actions of liberality, generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, clemency, or forgetfulneſs of injuries, is it in our power to deny them our eſteem and admiration, and do we not ſtill find ourſelves affected after ſo many ages with the bare recital of them?

Our hiſtory ſupplies us with abundance of beautiful expreſſions and actions of our Kings, and many other great men, which ſhew us plainly wherein true grandeur and ſolid glory conſiſt.

If ſincerity and truth were baniſhed the reſt of the earth, [d] ſaid John I. King of France, when ſolicited to break a treaty, *they ought to be found in the heart and mouth of Kings.*

It belongs not, [e] ſaid Lewis XII. to a courtier, who preſſed him to puniſh a perſon that offended him before he came to the throne, *it belongs not to the King*

[a] *Amici, diem perdidi.* Suet. in vit. Tit. n. 8.

[b] Velitem neſcire literas. Senec. l. 2. de Clem.

[c] Quis eſt tam diſſimilis hominis, ſi non moveatur & offenſione animi illius, & comprobatione ho-neſtatis? .... An obliviſcamur quantopere in audiendo legendoque moveamur, cum pie, cum amice, cum magno animo aliquid factum cognoſcimus? Lib. 5. ceſſa. n. 52.

[d] Meteran.

[e] Ibid.

of France to revenge the injuries done to the duke of Orleans.

[i] Francis I. after the battle of Pavia, wrote a letter to the regent his mother in theſe few words, *Madam, all is loſt but our honour.* This was to think and write like a King indeed, who in compariſon of his honour makes light of every thing beſide.

[k] And when ſhameful conditions were demanded of him for his liberty, he ordered the Emperor's agent to let his maſter know, that he was reſolved rather to ſpend all his days in priſon, than diſmember his dominions; and to add, that tho' he ſhould be ſo baſe as to do it, he was ſure his ſubjects would never conſent to it

[l] Inſtead of bearing ill-will to Francis de Montelon, who was the only lawyer of his time, that ventured to plead in favour of Charles de Bourbon againſt Francis I. and Louiſa of Savoy his mother, he valued him the more for it, made him attorney-general, then preſident au Mortier, and at laſt keeper of the ſeals.

[m] As Henry IV. was reproached with the little power he had in Rochelle, *I do*, ſays he, *in that town whatever I pleaſe, by doing only what I ought.*

Our magiſtrates, upon ſeveral occaſions, have given proof of what [n] Tully ſays in his Offices, that there is a domeſtick and private courage of no leſs value than military valour. [o] Achilles de Harlai, premier preſident, being threatened by the ſeditious with an immediate capital puniſhment, (theſe are the author's terms) *I have neither head nor life*, ſays he, *which I prefer to the love of God, the ſervice of my King, and the good of my country.* The day the battle of the Barrides was fought, he gave no other anſwer to the inſults and menaces of the principal authors of the league, than theſe commendable words: *My ſoul is God's, my heart the king's, and my body in the hands*

i P. Daniel.
k Ibid.
l Ste Marthe liv. 5. de ſes eloges.
m Hiſt. d'Aubigné.
n Sunt domeſticæ fortitudines non inferiores militaribus. Offic lib. 1. n. 18.
o Hiſtoire des prem. preſ.

f violent men, to do with it what they pleaſe. [p] When uſſy le Clerc had the boldneſs to enter the grand-hamber, and read the liſt of thoſe he ſaid he had rders to arreſt, and named the premier preſident and n or twelve more, all the reſt of the company roſe p, and generouſly followed them to the Baſtile.

'Tis well known, that the premier preſident Molé, a popular inſurrection, without any dread of loſing is life, went and ſhewed himſelf to the populace, nd put a ſtop to the mutiny by his ſingle preſence.

'Tis of him that Cardinal de Retz writes thus in is memoirs, " If it were not a kind of blaſphemy to ' ſay there is one in our age more intrepid than the ' great Guſtavus, and M. le Prince, I would ſay it ' was the premier preſident Molé."

This reſolution is the leſs aſtoniſhing in the magiſtrates of a parliament, whoſe peculiar character is an inviolable fidelity to their Kings, and an invincible courage in the greateſt dangers. But can we ſufficiently admire the extraordinary generoſity, which inſpired the townſmen of Calais with love to their country, and a view to the publick good? The town reduced by famine to the laſt extremity, offered to capitulate. The King of England, [q] provoked at their holding out ſo long, refuſed them quarter, except upon this ſole condition, " That ſix of the principal " townſmen, with their heads uncovered, their feet " bare, and halters about their necks, ſhould bring him " the keys of the town and caſtle in their hands; " that upon theſe he would execute his pleaſure, and " receive the reſt to mercy." When they had aſſembled the town, one of the chiefeſt townſmen, named Euſtace de St. Pierre, began to ſpeak; and he ſpoke with a courage and reſolution, which would have done honour to the ancient Roman citizens in the days of the republick; he ſaid, that he offered himſelf to be the firſt victim for the ſafety of the reſt of the people,

[p] Mezerai. [q] P. Daniel.

and

and that rather than ſee his fellow-countrymen periſh by hunger and the ſword, he would be one of the ſix that ſhould be given up to the King of England's vengeance. Five others, encouraged by his diſcourſe and example, offered themſelves with him. They were conducted in the equipage preſcribed, amidſt the confuſed cries and lamentations of the people. The King of England was inclined to execute them; but the Queen, touched with compaſſion, and breaking out into tears, threw herſelf at his Majeſty's feet, and obtained their pardon.

When the great Condé commanded the Spaniſh army in Flanders, and laid ſiege to one of our towns, a ſoldier being ill treated by a general officer, and ſtruck ſeveral times with a cane for ſome diſreſpectful words he had let fall, anſwered very coolly, that he ſhould ſoon make him repent of it. Fifteen days after, the ſame general officer ordered the colonel of the trenches to find him out a bold and intrepid fellow in his regiment for a notable piece of work he wanted to be done, for which he promiſed a reward of a hundred piſtoles. The ſoldier we are ſpeaking of, who paſſed for the braveſt in the regiment, offered his ſervice, and taking with him thirty of his comrades, of whom the choice was left to himſelf, diſcharged his commiſſion, [r] which was a very hazardous one, with incredible courage and ſucceſs. Upon his return, the general officer highly commended him, and gave him the hundred piſtoles he had promiſed. The ſoldier preſently diſtributed them among his comrades, ſaying, he did not ſerve for pay, and demanded only that if his late action ſeemed to deſerve any recompence they would make him an officer. *And now, Sir*, adds he to the general officer, who did not know

[r] The buſineſs was to know, before they made a lodgment, whether the enemy were undermining the glacis. The ſoldier ſet out as ſoon as it was night, throwing himſelf into the covered way, diſcharged his commiſſion ſo well, that he brought off the hat and inſtruments of one of the miners whom he had killed in the mine.

him,

him, *I am the ſoldier you abuſed ſo much fifteen days ago, and I told you, I would make you repent it.* The general officer in great admiration, and melting into tears, threw his arms around his neck, begged his pardon, and gave him a commiſſion that very day. The great Condé took a pleaſure in telling this ſtory, as the braveſt action in a ſoldier he had ever heard of. I had it from a perſon to whom M. le Prince, the great Condé's ſon, has often told it.

The ſame cannon-ball that killed M. Turenne, carried off an arm from M. St. Hilaire, lieutenant-general of the artillery. His ſon breaking out into tears and lamentations, *Hold your tongue, child,* ſays he to him, and pointing to M. de Turenne, as he lay dead, *here's a proper ſubject for your tears.*

* I have already ſpoke of the famous Henry de Meſmes, one of the moſt illuſtrious magiſtrates of his time. The King (Henry II. if I am not miſtaken) having offered him the place of advocate-general, he took the liberty to repreſent to his majeſty, that the place was not vacant. It is, anſwered the King, becauſe I am diſſatisfied with the perſon that fills it. *Excuſe me, Sir,* anſwered Henry de Meſmes, after having modeſtly ſpoke in defence of the perſon accuſed, *I had rather tear up the ground with my nails, than enter into that poſt through ſuch a gate.* The King gave ear to his remonſtrance, and continued the advocate-general in his place; who coming the next day to thank him for the ſervices he had done him, Henry de Meſmes would ſcarce accept of his acknowledgments for doing, what he ſaid was an indiſpenſible duty, and which he could not have omitted without diſgracing himſelf for ever.

A preſident à Mortier † had thoughts of quitting his poſt, in hopes of procuring it for his ſon. Lewis XIV. who had promiſed M. Peletier, then comptroller-general, to give him the firſt that fell, offered

* *Memoires Manuſcrits,* quoted already in the firſt volume.
† Cl. Peleterii vita.

him

him this. M. Peletier, after making his moſt humble acknowledgments, added, that the preſident who had quitted had a ſon, and his Majeſty had ever been well ſatisfied with the family. "I am not uſed to be "anſwered thus," replies the King, in ſurprize at his conduct and generoſity, "well you ſhall have the "next then." Nor did he wait long for it; for within two years after, M. le preſident le Coigneux dying without a ſon, ſo noble a diſintereſtedneſs was rewarded.

And here I muſt aſk, when we read of ſuch actions, can we poſſibly reſiſt the impreſſion they make upon our hearts? It is this voice and [t] teſtimony of an upright, ſtanch, and pure nature, not yet corrupted by ill examples and bad principles, which ſhould be the rule of our judgments, and is in a manner the baſis of this taſte of ſolid glory and real greatneſs I am now ſpeaking of. And 'tis our buſineſs to attend ſolely to this voice, conſult it in all things, and conform to its dictates.

I know very well that ſomething elſe is requiſite, beſides precepts and examples, to make a man thus ſuperior to the ſtrongeſt paſſions, and that God alone can inſpire him with theſe ſentiments of nobleneſs and grandeur, as the heathens themſelves inform us. [u] *Bonus vir ſine Deo nemo eſt. An poteſt aliquis ſupra fortunam, niſi ab illo adjutus, exurgere? Ille dat conſilia magnifica & erecta.* [w] But we cannot too much inculcate theſe principles into youth; and it were to be wiſhed they could never hear any other diſcourſe, and that theſe precepts were continually ſounded in their ears. [x] The principal fruit

[t] Quæ diſciplina eo pertinebat, ut ſincera & integra, & nullis prævitatibus detorta uniuſquiſque naturæ, toto ſtatim pectore arriperet artes honeſtas. Dialog. de oratoribus, cap. 28.

[u] Senec. ep. 41.

[w] Conducere arbitror talibus auctoribus undique circumſonare, ita eas, ſi fieri poſſet, quidquam aliud audire. Cic. lib. 3. offic. n. 5.

[x] Omnium honeſtarum rerum ſemina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur: non aliter quam ſcintilla flatu levi adjuta ignem ſuum explicat. Senec. ep. 94.

Hæc eſt ſapientia, in naturam converti, & eò reſtitui, unde publicus error expulerit. Ibid.

of hiſtory is to preſerve and invigorate thoſe ſentiments of probity and integrity we bring into the world with us; or, if we have ſwerved from them, to draw us back by degrees, and re-kindle in us thoſe precious ſparks, by frequent examples of virtue. [x] A maſter well ſkilled in directing the genius, which is the principal province, will omit no opportunity of inſtilling into his ſcholars the principles of honour and equity, and of exciting in them a ſincere love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice. [y] As they are of an age as yet tender and tractable, and corruption has not taken deep root in them, the truth more eaſily finds entrance into their minds, and fixes itſelf there without difficulty, if ever ſo little aſſiſted by the maſter's wiſe reflections, and ſeaſonable counſels.

When, upon every point of hiſtory read to them, or at leaſt upon the brighteſt and moſt important, they are aſked what they think, what ſeems beautiful, great, and commendable, and on the contrary what blameable and contemptible, it ſeldom happens but youth anſwer juſtly and rationally, and paſs a ſound and equitable judgment upon whatever is propoſed to them. 'Tis this anſwer, this judgment, which, as I have already ſaid, is in them the voice of nature and right reaſon, and cannot be ſuſpected becauſe not ſuggeſted, that becomes in them the rule of a good taſte with reſpect to ſolid glory and true greatneſs. When they ſee a Regulus expoſing himſelf to the moſt cruel torments, rather than break his word; a Cyrus and a Scipio making a publick profeſſion of continence and wiſdom; all the ancient Romans, ſo illuſtrious and ſo generally eſteemed, leading a poor, frugal, and ſober life; and on the other hand, ſee actions of treachery,

[x] Civitatis rectorem decet .... verbis, & his mollioribus, curare ingenia, ut facienda ſuadeat, cupiditatemque honeſti & æqui conciliet animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutum. Sen. lib. 1. de ira, cap. 5.

[y] Facillime tenera concilientur ingenia ad hereſim rectique amorem: Adhuc docilibus, lenitoque corruptis, injicit manum veritas, ſi advocatum Cæneum nacta eſt. Senec. ep. 108.

debauchery, diſſoluteneſs, low and ſordid avarice, in great and conſiderable perſons, they heſitate not a moment to pronounce in favour of the ſide they ought.

[z] Seneca, ſpeaking of one of his maſters, ſays, that when he heard him diſcourſe of the advantages of poverty, chaſtity, ſobriety, and a conſcience pure and unblameable, he went away from his lectures, enamoured of virtue, and filled with horror for vice. And this is the effect hiſtory muſt produce, when well taught.

We muſt therefore be careful to make youth attentive to the excellent leſſons even paganiſm affords, [a] which ſets no value upon whatever is external and adventitious, ſuch as wealth, honours, and magnificence; [b] and even in man eſteems and admires only the qualities of the heart, that is to ſay, probity and virtue; [c] which are of ſo glorious a nature, that they honour, dignify, and exalt whatever approaches, or ſurrounds them, even poverty, miſery, exile, impriſonment, and torture. 'Tis virtue alone which fixes the price of every thing, and is the ſole ſource of ſolid glory and real greatneſs. According to the principles of paganiſm, [d] a Prince is only ſo far great, as he is beneficent and liberal; nor ſhould he think of his power, but with a view to do good, and in imitation of

z Ego certe, cum Attalum audierem, in vitia, in errores, in mala vitæ perorantem, ſæpe miſertus ſum generis humani. Cùm vero commendare paupertatem cœperat . . . ſæpe exire è ſchola pauperi libuit. Cùm cœperat voluptates noſtras traducere, laudare caſtum corpus, ſobriam menſam, puram mentem, non tantum ab illicitis voluptatibus, ſed etiam ſupervacuis, libebat circumſcribere gulam & ventrem. Senec. ep. 108.

a Quicquid eſt hoc quod circa nos ex adventitio fulget, honores, opes, ampla atria . . . . alieni commodatique apparatus ſunt. Senec. conſol. ad Marc. cap. 10.

b Nec quicquam ſuum, niſi ſe, putet eſſe, ea quoque parte qua melior eſt. Id de Conſt ſap. cap. 6.

c Quicquid attigit virtus, in ſimilitudinem ſui adducit & tingit: actiones, amicitias, interdum domos totas, quas intravit diſpoſuitque, condecorat: quicquid tetigit, id amabile, conſpicuum, mirabile facit. Id. ep. 60.

d Proximum diis locum tenet, qui ſe ex deorum natura gerit, beneficus, ac largus, & in melius potens. Hæc affectare, hæc imitari decet: maximum ita haberi, ut optimus ſimul habeare. Senec. lib. 1. de Clem. cap. 19.

the

the Gods, to place the title of *beſt* before that of *greateſt*; JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS. He ſhould prefer the tender name of [e] father of his country to all the pompous titles of the invincible, the triumpher, the thunderbolt of war, the conqueror, titles generally ſo fatal to mankind, and call to mind that he is the protector and father of his ſubjects, and that his moſt ſolid glory, as well as his moſt eſſential duty, is to do his utmoſt to make them happy.

One would think, nothing could be added to theſe noble ideas, which the pagans give us of human power and greatneſs, or to the examples of virtue, which I have quoted above in ſuch great abundance. But let us hear what a wiſe man ſays, who was brought up, not in the ſchool of Plato or Socrates, but of Jeſus Chriſt, I mean St. Auguſtin, who, after having drawn the character of a great prince, teaches us, by one circumſtance that he adds to the deſcriptions of the ancients, wherein ſolid glory conſiſts, and how far Chriſtianity ſurmounts the pagan virtues, of which pride and vanity were the ſoul and principle.

"We do not call Chriſtian Princes great and "happy," [f] ſays this father, ſpeaking of the Emperors, "for having reigned long, or for dying in peace, and "leaving their children behind them on the throne, "for having conquered the enemies of the ſtate, or "ſuppreſſed ſedition, advantages which are common "to them with ſuch Princes as are worſhippers of de-"vils. But we call them great and happy, when they "make juſtice to flouriſh, and amidſt the praiſes that "are given them, and the homage paid them, do not "grow proud, but remember they are men; when "they ſubmit their power to the ſovereign power of "the King of kings, and make it ſubervient only to "the advancement of true religion; when they fear

[e] Cætera cognomina honori data ſunt .... Patrem quidem patriæ appellamus, ut ſciret datam ſibi poteſtatem patriam, quæ eſt temperatiſſima, liberis conſulens, ſuaque poſt illos reponens. Senec. lib. 1. de Clem. cap. 14.

[f] S. Aug de civit. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 24.

" God, love him and worſhip him; when they value " not their kingdom in compariſon of him, with " whom they have no rivals nor enemies to appre- " hend; when they are ſlow to puniſh and ſwift to " pardon; when they puniſh only for the good of " the ſtate, and not the gratification of their per- " ſonal revenge, and pardon only from the hope of " amendment, and not to grant impunity to crimes; " when, being obliged to uſe ſeverity, they temper " it with ſome action of mildneſs and clemency; " when they are the more reſerved in their pleaſures, " from being the more at liberty to indulge them- " ſelves in them; when they rather chuſe to com- " mand their paſſions, than to govern all the nations " of the world; AND WHEN THEY DO ALL THESE " THINGS, NOT FROM VAIN-GLORY, BUT THE " LOVE OF ETERNAL HAPPINESS."

'Twas not in the power of paganiſm to inſpire ſuch noble ſentiments, and at the ſame time ſo pure from all ſelf-love and vain-glory. *Hæc omnia faciunt, non propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, ſed propter caritatem felicitatis æternæ.* Nothing but the ſchool of Chriſt was capable of raiſing man to ſo high a degree of perfection, as to make him abſolutely forget himſelf in the midſt of the greateſt actions, that he might refer them only to God, wherein his entire greatneſs and glory conſiſts. For whilſt a man centers every thing in himſelf, let him make what efforts he will to appear great, and exalt himſelf, he continues ſtill what he is, that is, meanneſs and nothing, and can only become great and exalted, by uniting himſelf to him, who is the ſole ſource of all glory and greatneſs.

Hence aroſe that innumerable multitude of Chriſtian heroes of every condition, ſex, and age. The greateſt, the moſt diſtinguiſhed by the fortunes of the world have come to lay down at foot of the croſs, riches, grandeur, magnificence, dignities, ſcience, eloquence, and fame, and counted all theſe ſacrifices as nothing. S. Paulinus, the honour of France and glory of his age,

age, whilſt all the world ſtood in admiration at his generoſity in diſtributing the immenſe riches he poſſeſſed in ſeveral provinces among the poor, thought he had yet done nothing, and compared himſelf to a wreſtler preparing to engage, or a man that was ready to ſwim over a river, who had neither of them made any great progreſs, though they had ſtript off their clothes.

What ſhall I ſay of the multitude of illuſtrious ladies, who were ſome of them deſcended from the Scipios, and the Gracchi, S. Paula, S. Olympias, S. Marcella, S. Melania, who in honour of the Goſpel trod under foot the pomps and vanities of the world? What greatneſs of ſoul is there in that ſaying of Marcella's, when, after ſhe had diſtributed all her goods to the poor, ſeeing Rome taken and pillaged by the Goths, ſhe thanked God ſhe had ſecured her wealth before, and that the loſs of the city had found her poor, and not made her ſo! [z] *Quod pauperem illam non feciſſet captivitas, ſed inveniſſet.*

No triumph ever equalled that which Chriſtian humility gained in the perſon of S. Melania the grandmother, when ſhe went to Nola, to viſit S. Paulinus. We have an eloquent deſcription of it given us by the ſaint himſelf. All her family, that is, the greateſt and moſt eminent perſons in Rome waited upon her, and reſolved by way of honour to attend her in this journey with all the uſual pomp belonging to perſons of their quality. The Appian way was covered over with gilt and ſplendid coaches, with horſes richly harneſſed, and chariots of all kinds in abundance. In the midſt of this pompous train marched a lady venerable for her age, and ſtill ſo more for her grave and modeſt deportment, mounted on a little lean horſe, and clothed in a garment of plain ſerge. All eyes however were turned and fixed upon the humble Melania. No body took any notice of the gold,

[z] S. Hieron. lib. 3. Ep. ad Principiam.

the ſilk, and purple, which glittered around her; the coarſe ſtuff extinguiſhed all that vain ſplendor. There was ſeen in the children what the mother had quitted and trampled under foot, as a ſacrifice to Jeſus Chriſt.

The great lords and ladies, who made up this pompous retinue, inſtead of being aſhamed of the vile and abject condition the holy widow appeared in, thought it an honour to draw near her, and touch her garments, thinking by this humble and reſpectful condeſcenſion to expiate the pride of their own riches and magnificence. Thus upon this occaſion the pomp of the Roman greatneſs paid homage to the poverty of the Goſpel.

Some ſuch paſſages as theſe, intermixed from time to time with ſelect portions of profane hiſtory, may ſerve to correct and amend whatever is amiſs in them, ſupply what is wanting on the part of motive and intention, and give youth a perfect idea of true and ſolid greatneſs. For, in laying before them the beautiful actions and laudable ſentiments of the pagans, as we have done here, we muſt be careful from time to time to remind them of the principle [h] S. Auguſtin ſo frequently repeats, that without true piety, that is, without knowledge and love of the true God, there can be no real virtue; that it ceaſes to be ſuch, when produced by no other motive than human glory. 'Tis true, adds he, theſe virtues, though falſe and imperfect, do however enable thoſe who have them to be much more ſervicable to the publick, than if they had them not. And 'tis in this ſenſe we may ſay, that it were ſometimes to be wiſhed that thoſe who govern were good pagans, good Romans, and acted according to the great principles, which were the ſoul of

[h] Dum illud conſtet inter omnes veraciter pios, remotam ſine vera pietate, id eſt veri Dei veri cultu, veram poſſe haberi virtutem, nec eam veram eſſe, quando gloriæ ſervit humanæ. S. Aug. de civ. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 19.

their

their conduct. [1] But the ſtate is then abſolutely happy, when it pleaſes God to advance ſuch to an high ſtation, as unite true and ſolid piety with the great qualities which we admire in the ancients.

PART the SECOND.

Of Sacred Hiſtory.

I SHALL reduce what I have to ſay upon the ſtudy of ſacred hiſtory to two heads.

Firſt I ſhall lay down the principles I think neceſſary for making a proper advantage of this ſtudy; and then I ſhall make the application of them to ſome examples.

CHAP. I.

Neceſſary principles for the underſtanding Sacred Hiſtory.

BEFORE I ſet down the obſervations neceſſary to be made in the ſtudying ſacred hiſtory, or teaching it to others, I think it proper to begin with giving a general idea of it, which may explain the character peculiar to it, and aſſiſt us in ſhewing wherein this hiſtory differs from all others.

i Illi autem, qui vera pietate præditi bene vivunt, ſi habent ſcientiam regendi populos, nihil eſt felicius rebus humanis, quàm ſi Deo miſerante habeant poteſtatem. S. Aug. ibid.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

The proper and peculiar characters of Sacred History.

SACRED history is very different from all other history whatsoever. The last contains only human facts and temporal events, and often full of uncertainty and contradiction. But the other is the history of God himself, the supreme Being; the history of his omnipotence, his infinite wisdom, his universal providence, his holiness, his justice, his mercy, and all his other attributes, set forth under a thousand forms, and displayed by abundance of wonderful effects. The book which contains all these wonders is the most ancient book in the world, and the only one before the coming of the Messiah, in which God has shewn us, in a clear and certain manner, what he is, what we are, and for what ends designed.

Other histories leave us deeply ignorant in all these important points. Instead of giving a clear and distinct idea of the Godhead, they render it obscure, dishonour and disfigure it by numberless extravagant fables, differing only from one another in a greater or less degree of absurdity. They give us no insight into the nature of the world we inhabit, whether it had a beginning, by whom or to what end it was created, how it is supported and preserved, or whether it is always to subsist; we learn nothing what we are ourselves, what our original, nature, design, or end.

Sacred history begins with clearly revealing to us in a few words the greatest and most important truths, That there is a God, pre-existing before all things, and consequently eternal; that the world is the work of his hands, that he made it out of nothing by his word alone, and that thus he is almighty. [a] *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*

[a] Gen. i. 1.

It

It then repreſents man, for whom this world was made, as coming forth from the hands of his Creator, and compounded of a body and a ſoul; a body made out of a little duſt, the proof of its weakneſs; and a ſoul, breathed into it by God, and conſequently diſtinct from the body, ſpiritual, intelligent, and from the very ſubſtance of its nature and conſtitution, incorruptible and immortal.

It deſcribes the happy condition in which man was created righteous and innocent, and deſtined for eternal happineſs, if he had perſevered in his righteouſneſs and innocence; his ſad fall by ſin, the fatal ſource of all his misfortunes, and the twofold death to which he was condemned with all his poſterity; and laſtly, his future reſtoration by an all-powerful Mediator, which was even then promiſed and pointed out to him for his conſolation, though at the diſtance of a remote futurity; all the circumſtances and characters whereof are afterwards deſcribed, but under the faint ſhadows of figures and ſymbols, which, like ſo many veils, ſerve at the ſame time to diſcloſe and hide it.

It teaches us, that in this reſtoration of mankind, the great work of God, to which all is referred, and in which all terminates, is to form to himſelf a kingdom worthy of him, a kingdom which ſhall alone ſubſiſt to all eternity, and to which all others ſhall give place; that Jeſus Chriſt ſhall be the founder and ruler of this kingdom, according to the auguſt prophecy of [b] Daniel, who after he had ſeen in a viſion under different ſymbols the ſucceſſion and ruin of all the great empires of the world, ſees at laſt the Son of Man drawing near to the Ancient of Days, *uſque ad Antiquum Dierum*, a noble and ſublime expreſſion to denote the Eternal; and immediately adds, *that God gave him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all nations and languages ſhould ſerve him; his dominion is an everlaſting dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and his kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed.*

[b] Dan. vii. 1—14.

This kingdom is the church, which is begun and formed here upon earth, and shall one day be carried up into heaven, the place of its original and eternal habitation. [c] *And then cometh the end*, that is, of this visible world, which subsists only for the other, *when Jesus Christ, after having put down all rule, and all authority, and power, shall have delivered up the kingdom*, that is to say, the blessed and holy company of the elect, *to God, even the Father.*

'Tis this blessed society of the Just, and he who has been pleased to be their head, sanctifier, father, and spouse, who are the grand object and the last end of all the designs of God. From the beginning of the world, and even before sin had perverted the order of it, he had them both in view. [d] St. Paul declares in express terms, that the first Adam was the figure of the second, *qui est forma futuri*; and [e] he insinuates to us, that Eve, who was taken from Adam's side, during his mysterious sleep, was a natural image of the church, proceeding from the side of Christ, who slept upon the cross to make us the children of it.

We see God, who is always watchful over the work of his own hands, from the earliest times preparing at a distance the formation of the Christian church, and laying the foundations of it, by revealing to man such mysteries as it was always necessary to his salvation for man to know, by frequently renewing to him the promise of a Redeemer; by pointing out to him the necessity of believing in a Mediator for the obtaining of true righteousness; by teaching him the essence of religion and the spirit of true worship; by transmitting from age to age, without alteration, these capital doctrines, by the long life of the first patriarchs, who were full of faith and holiness; by taking care through the means of the ark to preserve these essential truths from perishing in the deluge; and lastly, by forming from the beginning a society of just men more or less nu-

[c] 1 Cor. xv. 24. [d] Rom. v. 14. [e] Eph. v. 25, &c.

merous

merous and viſible, and preſerving them by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion.

But when the earth began to be again overſpread with an inundation of errors and crimes, of a more pernicious conſequence than the deluge of waters they had lately eſcaped from; God, to ſecure the ſalutary truths, which began to grow obſcure and extinct in all nations, committed them in truſt to a family entirely devoted to religion. Of them he forms a peculiar people, incloſed within the precincts of a particular country which he had long before prepared for them, ſeparated from all other nations by diſtinct laws and cuſtoms, directed and governed in a manner entirely ſingular, expoſed as a ſpectacle to the reſt of the world by innumerable wonders he wrought amongſt them, either with a view to fix them in the promiſed land, to keep them in poſſeſſion of it, or bring them back to it when driven out. He was not content to guide them like other people, by a general and common providence, but himſelf became their head, legiſlator, and King. And it was his will, that this people ſhould be the type and figure of what was afterwards to happen to the Church, by their departure out of Egypt, their wandering in the deſert, their entrance into the land of Promiſe, their wars and conqueſts, their long captivity in Babylon, their return into their own country; in a word, by all the different ſtates and changes which befel them; and that the expectation of the Meſſiah, promiſed to the patriarchs, figured by the ceremonies and ſacrifices of the law, foretold by the prophets, ſhould be the proper and eſpecial character of this people to diſtinguiſh them from all the other nations of the earth.

This is what the Scripture teaches us, and alone could diſcover to us, as it alone is the depoſitory of the divine revelations, and of the manifeſtation of God's decrees, which lay concealed in his boſom from all eternity, till the moment he was pleaſed to divulge them. And can any object be greater, of nearer con-

cern, and more worthy of the attention of mankind, than an hiſtory, wherein God has thought fit of himſelf to draw with his own hand the plan of our eternal deſtiny?

To fix the certainty of revelation, and eſtabliſh religion upon a firm foundation, it has pleaſed God to give it two ſorts of proof, which were at the ſame time ſuited to the capacities of the moſt ſimple, and ſuperior to all the ſubtleties of the incredulous, which viſibly bore the character of Omnipotence; and which neither all the endeavours of man, or cunning of devils, were able to imitate.

Theſe two ſorts of proof conſiſt in miracles and prophecies.

The miracles are plain, publick, notorious, expoſed to the eyes of all the world, infinitely multiplied and diverſified, long foretold and expected, and continuing for a long ſeries of days and ſometimes of years. They are evident facts, memorable events, of which the dulleſt underſtanding could not but be ſenſible, whereof the whole people were not only ſpectators and witneſſes, but themſelves the matter and object; they reap the advantage of them and perceive the effects, and have their own happineſs or miſery depending on them. The family of Jacob could not forget the deſtruction of the whole world by the deluge, after the continued ſucceſſion of years, nor the miraculous manner in which they alone were preſerved in the ark. The fire which came down from heaven upon the unrighteous cities; the whole Kingdom of Egypt ſmitten at different times by ten terrible plagues; the ſea opening a paſſage to the Iſraelites, and cloſing to overwhelm Pharaoh and his army; the people of Iſrael fed with manna for forty years, and drinking of the brooks which flowed out of the ſtony rock, covered with a cloud from the heat of the day, and enlightened by night with a pillar of fire; their clothes and their ſhoes not worn out in the courſe of ſo long a journey; the ſtreams of Jordan forgetting to flow, and the ſun ſtand-

ſtanding ſtill to ſecure the victory; an army of hornets marching before the people of God to drive the Canaanites from their poſſeſſions; the clouds at ſeveral times converted into a ſhower of hail-ſtones to overthrow the enemy; the nations in league againſt Iſrael diſperſed by a vain terror, or exterminated by a mutual ſlaughter in turning their arms againſt one another; an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand ſtruck dead with thunder in one night under the walls of Jeruſalem; all theſe prodigies, and a thouſand others of a like nature, whereof ſeveral were atteſted by ſolemn feaſts eſtabliſhed on purpoſe to perpetuate their memory, and by ſacred ſongs which were in the mouths of all the Iſraelites, could not be unknown to the moſt ſtupid, nor called in queſtion by the moſt incredulous.

And the ſame may be ſaid of the prophecies. We are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and conſider as the utmoſt effort of human underſtanding, that a famous [d] hiſtorian ſhould have been able by the force of his genius, a ſuperior capacity, and his profound knowledge of the characters of men and nations, to pry ſo far into the darkneſs of futurity, as to diſcern a conſiderable alteration which was to happen in the Roman commonwealth. And certainly ſuch a foreſight very much deſerves our admiration; and there is no body, that has ever ſo little taſte and curioſity, who is not well pleaſed to examine, whether the hiſtorian has really conjectured ſo exactly as is reported.

The ſacred hiſtory preſents us with far great wonders. We there ſee a multitude of inſpired men, who do not ſpeak doubtfully, with heſitation, or by conjecture, but with an affirmative voice loudly and publickly declare that ſuch and ſuch events ſhould certainly happen in the time and place, and with all the circumſtances that theſe prophets expreſs. But what events? The moſt particular, the moſt perſonal, and ſuch as moſt nearly concerned the intereſt of the nation, and at the ſame time were the moſt remote from

[d] Polybius.

all outward appearance. Under the flouriſhing reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, when the ſtate enjoyed peace and plenty, and luxury in eating, building, and furniture was carried to exceſs, what likelihood was there of the terrible famine and ſhameful captivity [e] Iſaiah then threatened the ladies of the greateſt diſtinction with, or what probability of the extreme miſery which actually befel them in the following reign?

When, ſome time after, Jeruſalem blocked up by the numerous army of Sennacherib, was reduced to the laſt extremity, without troops, without proviſions, or any hopes of human aſſiſtance, eſpecially after the army of the Egyptians had been cut to pieces, was the prediction of Iſaiah credible, that the city ſhould not be taken, that it ſhould not be beſieged in form, that the enemy ſhould not caſt an arrow againſt it, and that this formidable army ſhould be exterminated at once, without any human concurrence, and its King put to flight?

The entire deſtruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, the carrying Judah away captive to Babylon after the conqueſt and overthrow of Jeruſalem, the expreſs term of ſeventy years ſet for the duration of their captivity, their glorious return into their own country, their deliverer ſpecified and called by his proper name above two hundred years before he was born, the ſurpriſing and till then unheard-of manner, in which this famous conqueror was to take Babylon; could all this be the effect of human foreſight, or was there the leaſt appearance of it, when the prophets foretold it?

Theſe predictions however, illuſtrious as they were, ſerved only as a veil or preparation to others of far greater importance, to which the accompliſhment of the former was to give a degree of authority and credit, ſuperior in ſtrength to all that human underſtanding could imagine or deſire for the gaining of a full conviction and an unchangeable belief. It is

[e] Iſai. iii. 16, 26, &c.

plain,

plain, I mean the predictions relating to the Meſſiah, and the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Church. Theſe are ſo clear and circumſtantial, that they ſurpaſs all imagination. The prophets have not only ſpecified the time, the place, and the manner of the Meſſiah's birth, the principal actions of his life, and the effects of his preaching; but they ſaw and foretold, the moſt particular circumſtances of his death and reſurrection, and have related them with almoſt as much exactneſs as the evangeliſts themſelves, who were eye-witneſſes of them.

But what ſhall we ſay of thoſe great events, which conſtitute the fate of mankind, take in the extent of all ages, and at laſt happily loſe themſelves in the eternity, which was their end and deſign; the eſtabliſhment of the church upon earth by the preaching of twelve fiſhermen; the reprobation of the whole body of the Jewiſh nation; the vocation of the Gentiles, to be ſubſtituted in the place of a people once ſo dearly beloved and favoured with ſuch high privileges; the deſtruction of idolatry throughout the world; the diſperſion of the Jews into all parts of the earth to ſerve as witneſſes to the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and the accompliſhment of the prophecies; their future return to the faith of Chriſt, which will be the refuge and conſolation of the church in the latter day; and laſtly, the tranſlation of this church, after many trials and dangers, from earth to heaven, there to enjoy eternal peace and felicity? Theſe are the ſubjects with which the prophets entertain us, and for this end the Holy Scriptures were written.

Now I aſk in the firſt place, whether we ſhall not be wanting in the moſt eſſential part of the education of youth, if we ſuffer them to be ignorant of an hiſtory ſo venerable and important for its antiquity, its authority, and the greatneſs and variety of facts related in it, and more eſpecially for the intimate union it has with our holy religion, as it is the foundation

dation of it, as it contains all the proofs of it, points out to us all its duties, and for which it is ſo capable of inſpiring us with the greateſt reſpect from our moſt tender years, which may afterwards ſerve as a check and barrier againſt the licentious boldneſs of incredulity, which every day gains ground, and threatens us with the entire loſs of the faith?

I aſk in the ſecond place, whether it be to ſtudy and teach ſacred hiſtory as we ought, barely to conſider the facts contained in it as hiſtorical facts, or to lay them before youth as objects only of their curioſity and admiration, without ſhewing them as the firmeſt ſupports of their belief, the legal patent of their true nobility, and certain pledges of their future greatneſs; without teaching them to compare theſe *miraculous* and *prophetical* events with the moſt boaſted *prodigies* and *oracles* of the heathen; and without making them ſenſible how vain thoſe, upon which the whole Roman religion, for inſtance, was founded, and which [f] Tully in ſome of his books has endeavoured to ſupport with all his eloquence, (tho' in [g] others he abſolutely overthrows them) how vain and frivolous, I ſay, theſe prodigies and oracles are, and how far remote, ſuppoſing they were true, from the certainty, majeſty, and number of thoſe, which the ſacred hiſtory preſents us with in every page?

Laſtly, I aſk whether we ſhould pay to the ſacred hiſtory, dictated by the Holy Ghoſt himſelf, the reſpect which is due to it, by examining only the letter of it, without penetrating farther to diſcover the ſpirit and true ſignification of it, eſpecially after ſuch light as the evangeliſts and apoſtles, and ſince them the conſtant and uninterrupted tradition of the fathers, have given us upon this matter. We very often read in the Goſpel, that the actions related there were the accompliſhment of the figures and prophecies of the Old Teſtament; and Jeſus Chriſt him-

[f] Lib. 1. de Nat. Deor. [g] Lib. 2. de Divinat.

ſelf

ſelf aſſures us, that Moſes has principally written of him; [h] *Had ye believed Moſes, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.* [i] St. Paul tells us in clear and expreſs terms, that Jeſus Chriſt was the end of the law, and that what happened to the Jews, happened to them by way of type and figure. St. Auguſtin, who is herein no other than the interpreter and channel of the tradition of the church, declares to us, ſpeaking of the ſaints of the Old Teſtament, that not only their words, but their life, their marriages, their children, their actions, were a figure and prediction of what was long after to happen in the Chriſtian church; [k] *Hi viri juſtissimi, qui præcesserunt tempore manifestatæ Dominicæ, non ſolum ſermone, ſed etiam vita, & conjugia, & filii, & facta, prophetia fuit hujus temporis, quo per filiam paſſionis Chriſti ex gentibus congregatur eccleſia*; and that the whole Hebrew nation were a kind of great prophet of him, who alone deſerves to be called great; [l] *Totumque illud regnum gentis Hebræorum, magnum quendam quia & magni cujuſdam, ſuæ proſpicientem.* Whence he concludes, that a prophecy of Chriſt and the church ſhould be ſought for in the actions of that people: *In iis quæ in illis, vel de illis divinitus fiebant, prophetia venturi Chriſti & eccleſiæ perſcrutanda eſt.*

In what is ſaid, for inſtance, of Abraham, [m] that he caſt out Hagar, who was his lawful wife, though a bond-woman of a ſecond rank, with Iſhmael his ſon, without giving them any thing for their ſubſiſtence but a little bread and water, can any man of good ſenſe or underſtanding comprehend, that this patriarch, who was ſo liberal and humane to ſtrangers, would have treated his wife and ſon with ſuch ſeverity, if there was not ſome myſtery concealed under it?

[h] John v. 46.
[i] Rom. x. 4. 1 Cor. x. 11.
[k] S. Aug. de catechiſ. rud. c. 19.
[l] Lib. 22. contra Fauſt. cap. 24.
[m] Gen. xxii.

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Though tradition did not diſcover to us the meaning of the ſame patriarch's action in offering up Iſaac, would not reaſon alone, I mean in a man enlightened with faith, ſuffice to make us diſcern in it the charity of our heavenly Father, who had ſo great a love for mankind, as to give his only Son for them?

Can we tell the children the hiſtory of the brazen ſerpent fixed and hung upon a croſs in the wilderneſs as a remedy for the Iſraelites, who had been bitten by the fiery ſerpents, without explaining to them at the ſame time, of whom this ſerpent was the type?

Should we rightly underſtand the admirable hiſtory of Jonas, if we limited it only to the letter, and did not diſcern the reſurrection of Chriſt reſtored to life again from the grave on the third day, and the ſpeedy and miraculous converſion of the Gentiles, which was the fruit of our Saviour's death and reſurrection?

And the ſame may be obſerved in many other paſſages in ſacred hiſtory, which are not underſtood if not fully comprehended. We ſhould ſtudy it as Jews, and not as Chriſtians, if we did not remove the veil that covers it, and were content with the ſurface, which, though rich indeed and valuable, conceals other riches of a far more ineſtimable value.

Theſe types or figures ſhould be explained to youth more or leſs fully in proportion to their years, taking care to dwell eſpecially upon ſuch as are explained in the New Teſtament, the meaning of which cannot poſſibly be miſtaken; however a choice ſhould be made of the cleareſt of theſe, and ſuch as are beſt ſuited to the age of the pupil. There are ſome however ſo plain and evident in themſelves, though not explained in the New Teſtament, that we cannot poſſibly doubt their ſignification, as the hiſtory of Joſeph, and ſeveral others of the like nature.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Uſeful Obſervations for the ſtudy of Sacred Hiſtory.

THE firſt care to be taken in the ſtudy of hiſtory in general, is to throw it into ſuch order and method as to be able clearly to diſtinguiſh facts, perſons, times and places; and to this end chronology and geography may contribute, which have been deſervedly called the two eyes of hiſtory, as they give a great addition of light to it, and remove all kind of confuſion.

When I recommend the ſtudy of chronology, I am far from inclining to engage you in the examination of thoſe difficult and knotty queſtions, of which it is very ſuſceptible, and of which the diſcuſſion properly belongs only to the learned. It is ſufficient, if they have a clear and diſtinct idea, not of the preciſe year of every particular fact, for that would be endleſs and extremely troubleſome, but in general of the age wherein the moſt conſiderable events fell out.

Sacred hiſtory, from the creation of the world to the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, is uſually divided into ſix ages or parts, which in all take in the ſpace of four thouſand years. This diviſion is not difficult to be retained, nor above the comprehenſion of children. The number of years in each of theſe ages is next to be obſerved, avoiding as much as poſſible, the fractions or ſmall numbers, and reducing them to a round ſum. Thus the fourth age, which reaches from the departure out of Egypt to the time when the foundations of the temple were laid, exactly computed, includes but four hundred and ſeventy-nine years and ſeventeen days. But 'tis better to tell youth, that it amounts to about four hundred and eighty years. This ſpace may be again divided into different parts,

but

but we muſt not multiply them too much; into forty years, which the people paſſed in the wilderneſs under the conduct of Moſes; three hundred and fifty from their entrance into the holy Land under the direction of Joſhua and the Judges; forty years under Saul, forty more under David, and ſome years of the reign of Solomon. Such a diviſion is not very burdenſome to the memory, and in my opinion makes the knowledge of facts much more clear and eaſy.

Among the writers of chronology, Uſher and Petavius are the moſt followed. Either the one or the other of theſe great men may be choſen for a guide; but in the ſame college it will be proper to keep to one and the ſame in every claſs.

As there are ſome facts in ſacred hiſtory differently related by the ſeveral authors who have treated of them, 'tis the maſter's buſineſs to unite and reconcile theſe differences, by chuſing out of each book ſuch circumſtances as are moſt inſtructive and affecting. When they come to the times of the prophets, their writings give a great light to the hiſtorical books, that omit ſeveral conſiderable facts, or often but ſlightly touch upon them; of which we ſhall give ſome examples in the ſequel.

There has been lately printed a book, entitled, *An abridgment of the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, which may be very uſeful not only to youth, but to all perſons, who have not leiſure or capacity enough for ſtudying the ſacred hiſtory in the Scripture itſelf. Whatever is moſt eſſential in ſacred hiſtory is thrown into this abridgment. That ſimplicity of ſtile is diligently obſerved, which is ſo peculiar to it. In the hiſtorical relations care is alſo taken to intermix certain words of Scripture, which convey great ſenſe, and ſuggeſt matter for important reflections. Laſtly, to render this work more complete and uſeful, it concludes with an extract from the ſapiential and prophetical books. It were to be wiſhed, we had the like aſſiſtance for profane hiſtory.

II. In

II. In the ſtudying of ſacred hiſtory we muſt not neglect the uſages and cuſtoms peculiar to the people of God, their laws, their government, and manner of living. The excellent book of M. l'Abbé Fleuri's, entitled the *Manners of the Iſraelites*, contains all that can be deſired upon this ſubject, and diſpenſes with treating it more at large.

III. It is proper to make youth take notice of the principal characters of the Jews, the carnal Jews I mean, who made up the body of the nation. The honour which God had ſhewn them in chuſing them to be his people, had filled them with pride. They looked upon all other nations with the utmoſt contempt. They thought every thing their due. Full of preſumption, and an high opinion of themſelves, they expected to be juſtified only by their own works. They placed their whole confidence in the outward obſervances of the law. They confined their views and hopes to temporal advantages and earthly bleſſings. When brought to the trial, and reduced to any neceſſity, forgetful of all the benefits of God, and all the miracles he had wrought in their favour, and conſtantly diſpoſed to rebel againſt him and their ſuperiors, they gave themſelves up to complaint, murmuring and deſpair. And laſtly, if we except the latter times, they had always an irreſiſtible inclination to idolatry.

'Tis this laſt circumſtance, which in my opinion lets us moſt into the real character of the Jewiſh nation, and is one of the principal motives of the choice which God made of them; I mean, their hardneſs of heart, an extreme inclination to do ill, by which God would ſhew us, that means purely exterior are abſolutely incapable of correcting the heart of man, as they were all without exception employed for ſeveral ages in healing the Jews of idolatry, and teaching them to obſerve the firſt commandment, but with-

without ſucceſs. Neither the long and miſerable oppreſſion they underwent in Egypt; nor the joy and gratitude for a miraculous deliverance, and the inſtruction of the law given at the foot of mount Sinai; neither the ſubſtitution of a new race, born in the wilderneſs, brought up by Moſes, formed by the law, intimidated by the puniſhment of their fathers; nor their entrance into the promiſed land, and the actual enjoyment of all the effects of the promiſe; neither the different chaſtiſements, nor the warnings and examples of the prophets, during their abode in that land, were able to root out that impious inclination. But growing ſtill more wicked, more corrupt, and idolatrous in the promiſed land, than they had been in Egypt, God at laſt was obliged to ſend them captive to Nineveh and Babylon; and yet this correction ſerved only to harden them; ſo that, giving themſelves up to all manner of wickedneſs, they cauſed the name of the God of Iſrael to be blaſphemed among the idolatrous nations, whom they exceeded in all manner of guilt and impiety.

'Tis God himſelf, who declares to us in his prophets, and eſpecially in [n]Ezekiel, the deſign he had of ſhewing mankind by the ſeries of all the events which befel his people, of ſhewing them, I ſay, the exceſſive corruption of their hearts, and the inability of purely external remedies for the healing ſo ancient and inveterate an evil. This view is one of the great keys of Scripture, and ſhews us moſt ſenſibly the ſecret and ſpirit of the Old Teſtament. Without the knowledge of this circumſtance, the ſacred hiſtory will conſiſt of impenetrable obſcurities, and remain an incomprehenſible book to the greateſt part of its readers. To what end indeed was the choice of a people ſo obſtinate and ungrateful? Why ſo many favours conferred upon Iſrael, preferably to ſo many other nations, in all outward appearance better than they? Why ſo conſtant an attachment to this people,

[n] Ezek. xx.

not-

notwithſtanding ſo fixed a perſeverance in ingratitude? Why were they made to paſs through ſo many various conditions? Why that continual alternative of promiſes and threatenings, conſolations and afflictions, rewards and corrections? Why ſo many inſtructions, warnings, invitations, reproofs, miracles, prophets, and holy guides? Why ſo many benefits beſtowed on a people, who inſtead of growing better became the worſe for them? This depth of the divine wiſdom, which aſtoniſhes us, ſhould at the ſame time inſtruct us; as from this very obſcurity, diffuſed through the whole conduct of God towards his people, there breaks out a light more clear than that of the ſun, demonſtrating to us the inſufficiency of all outward applications in healing the corruption of the human heart.

IV. It appears evidently from the manner in which the Old Teſtament is written, that the deſign of God, in giving it to men, was to make them extremely attentive to the great examples of virtue contained in it. The Scripture cuts off in few words the hiſtory of the ungodly, how great ſoever they were in the eyes of the world; and on the other hand dwells long upon the ſmalleſt actions of the righteous. The firſt book of Kings is the hiſtory of Samuel; the ſecond that of David; the third and fourth, of Solomon, Jehoſhaphat, Hezekiah, Elijah, Eliſha, and Iſaiah. The wicked ſeem to be mentioned only with regret, by accident, and on purpoſe to be condemned. If we compare what is ſaid of Nimrod, who built the * two mighty cities of the world, and founded the greateſt empire that ever was in the univerſe, with what is reported of the firſt patriarchs, we know not why the very important facts, which muſt have rendered the life of that famous conqueror ſo particular, and given ſo much light and ornament to an-

* Nineveh and Babylon.

cient

cient hiſtory, ſhould be paſſed over with ſuch
dity, to dwell ſo long upon the minute, and ſeem
ly unneceſſary circumſtances of the life eith
Abraham, or Jacob, which was ſtill leſs illuſt
than that of his grandfather. But God point
to us herein how different his thoughts are
ours, in letting us ſee in the firſt what men ac
and wiſh for, and in the others what he is
pleaſed with, and thinks worthy his approbatio
our attention.

The Scripture lays down rules, and preſcribes
dels for all ranks and conditions. Kings and ju
rich and poor, huſbands and wives, fathers and
dren, all find there moſt excellent inſtructions
every branch of their duty. 'Tis an uſeful,
withal an agreeable exerciſe, to accuſtom you
join together of themſelves and repeat off-hand
ral examples upon the ſame ſubject.

KINGS in holy ſcripture, I mean ſuch as
after God's own heart, conſider themſelves on
the miniſters of the ſupreme King, and uſe thei
thority only to make their ſubjects happy, by ma
them better. They are full of zeal for the
of God and the publick good. Let but any
carefully reflect upon the ſentiments of piety, w
David expreſſed in the tranſlation of the ark,
his preparations for building the temple; Jeho
phat's viſitation of his kingdom; Hezekiah's
for religion from the moment he began to re
the indefatigable zeal of Joſiah for reſtoring the
worſhip not only in Judah, but in the ten tribes
and he will plainly ſee that theſe Princes tho
themſelves placed on the throne only to eſtabliſh
kingdom of God in their dominions. And to
that piety is not inconſiſtent with true politicks,
Scripture affects ſometimes to mention in partic
the wiſe precautions they took in war and peace;
tifications of towns, magazines of arms, diſcipl
troops; the cares of agriculture, of the feeding
preſerv

preſervation of cattle, the certain and innocent ſources of the plenty that reigned throughout the country, and enabled the people to pay with joy and eaſe the taxes, which were conſtantly regulated according to the real neceſſities of the ſtate, and the abilities of every private ſubject.

JUDGES, magiſtrates, miniſters, and all perſons in authority, find perfect models in Moſes, Joſhua, the Judges to Samuel, in Job, Nehemiah, Eſdras, and Eliakim. Their whole conduct ſhews an entire diſintereſtedneſs. They have no thoughts of eſtabliſhing or raiſing a family. They are popular, plain, and modeſt, without pomp, without diſtinctions, without guards, without jealouſy in the command, receiving the advice of perſons below them with pleaſure, and gladly ſharing with them in authority.

RICHES. Abraham, Job, Boaz, &c.

We know that Abraham was very rich, and at the ſame time very liberal and generous. He would have looked upon it as a ſhame and a reproach, if any other than God had made him rich. [p] *I will not take any thing that is thine*, ſays he to the King of Sodom, who out of gratitude offered Abraham all the ſpoils he had recovered from the hands of the enemies, *leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſay, I have made Abraham rich.* His houſe was open to all ſtrangers and paſſengers. [q] The Scripture repreſents this holy man as ſitting at his tent-door in the heat of the day, and placed there as a centinel for charity, to wait, or rather to ſeek opportunities of exerciſing hoſpitality; For it is ſaid that he ran to meet his gueſts; *And when he ſaw them, he ran to meet them.*

JOB was a powerful and mighty Prince. The Scripture gives us in him a magnificent picture of an eminent perſon, placed in authority, and abounding with riches. [r] From his youth, as he livelily expreſſes his ſentiments, compaſſion was brought up with

[p] Gen. xiv. 23. [q] Chap xviii. 1, 2. [r] Job xxxi. 18.

him, and had been his guide from his mother's womb. [s] He thought it ſuperior to the moſt glorious titles, that he was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, the father of the poor, the ſanctuary of ſtrangers, the comforter of the widow, and the protector of the orphan that had none to help him. [t] He deſpiſed not to reaſon with his man-ſervant or his maid-ſervant, when they thought they had any ſubject of complaint againſt him, as thoroughly convinced that they had all one common maſter, and the ſame God was their creator and his. [u] He never placed his confidence in his great riches, and the deſtruction of his enemies never gave him any ſecret joy. [w] Acceſſible to all without diſtinction, he took cognizance of affairs with extreme application. [x] He put on righteouſneſs, and it cloathed him; his judgment was as a robe and a diadem: [y] he brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the ſpoil out of their teeth: [z] and the pleaſing fruit he reaped from his zeal was the ſatisfaction of having delivered him that was ready to periſh, and having his bleſſing come upon him; and [a] at the ſame time that he ſat in the midſt of Senators and Princes, and dwelt as a King in the army, he ceaſed not to be the comforter of the afflicted.

BOAZ is no leſs admirable in this kind. [b] In the midſt of riches he is laborious, diligent in huſbandry; plain, without luxury, delicacy, ſloth, or pride. How affable, how obliging and kind to his ſervants! *The Lord be with you*, ſays he to his reapers; and they anſwered him, *The Lord bleſs thee*. This was the beautiful language of religious antiquity, but how little known in our days.

How commendable was his behaviour towards Ruth, when he deſires her not to go into any other field to

[s] Job xxix. 12, 15, 16.
[t] Chap. xxxi. 13, 15.
[u] Ver. 24, 25, 29.
[w] Chap. xx x. 16.
[x] Ver. 14.
[y] Ver. 17.
[z] Ver. 11, 13.
[a] Ver. 25.
[b] Ruth ii.

glean,

glean, but to abide faſt by his maidens to eat and drink with them; and the charitable order he gives his reapers to let her glean even among the ſheaves, and to let fall ſome of the handfuls on purpoſe for her, that ſhe might gather them up without being aſhamed; teaching us by this wiſe conduct to ſave thoſe we oblige the confuſion of receiving, and ourſelves the temptation of vain-glory and even pleaſure of giving. *De veſtris quoque manipulis projicite de induſtriâ, & remanere permittite, ut ſine rubore colligat.*

TOBIT. The Holy Ghoſt gives us in this good man a perfect model of private life, and points out to us in him all the virtues and duties of that condition united together. We ſee in him a firm reſolution from his infancy to ſtand upon his guard againſt the contagion of ill example; an equality of mind in the different ſituations of life; a generoſity, in the time of his plenty, to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, and lend even large ſums without intereſt; a patience in ſupporting extreme poverty, not only without murmuring, but with thankſgiving; an invincible courage in the exerciſe of works of mercy; a gentleneſs in bearing domeſtick contradictions; a firm confidence in God under the ſevereſt trials; a conſtant care in the education of his ſon, as well by his example as inſtructions, in the fear of the Lord, in doing juſtice to his neighbour, and ſhewing compaſſion to the poor; and laſtly, a lively and fixed expectation of future bleſſings, which ſupported and comforted him under the greateſt afflictions. *We are,* [c] ſays he, *the children of the ſaints, and wait for that life, which God will give to them, who faithfully obſerve the promiſe they have made him.*

The POOR. What an example is Job to ſuch as have loſt their ſubſtance all at once by unforeſeen misfortunes. [d] *The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord.*

[c] Tobit ii. 18. [d] Job i. 21.

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Thomas H Shoemaker

RUTH, aſtoniſhed that Boaz ſhould look upon a poor woman who was a ſtranger, teaches ſuch as are reduced to beggary, as ſhe was, how humble and grateful they ought to be, by reflecting that nothing is their due.

How happy would the caſe of the poor be, if like Tobit they had ever this excellent maxim in their minds, [e] *Fear not, my ſon, that we are made poor; for thou haſt much wealth, if thou fear God, and depart from all ſin, and do that which is pleaſing in his ſight.*

MARRIED PERSONS. The holy wives of the patriarchs. Sarah. The daughter of Raguel. Ruth. Eſther. Judith. Tobit and Tobias. Job. One ſingle expreſſion of Job's ſhews us how far the ancients carried conjugal chaſtity. Job was a rich and powerful Prince, living in plenty, and attended by an obſequious court. Yet he tells us himſelf, that he had made an agreement with his eyes, and impoſed the ſtrict law upon them, never to caſt a look upon a maid. [f] *I have made a covenant with mine eyes, why then ſhould I think upon a maid?*

What I have obſerved of the rules and models to be found in Scripture, that are ſuited to the ſeveral eſtates of life, will likewiſe hold good of different virtues, and every ſubject of morality.

Virtue conſtantly exerciſed, tried, and confirmed by afflictions. Abel. Abraham. Joſeph. Moſes. David. Job. Daniel, *&c.*

Vice unfortunate. Cain. Abimelech and the Sichemites. Abſalom. Achitophel. Jeroboam. Baaſha. Ahab.

The pardon of injuries. Abraham, with reſpect to Lot. Joſeph, in regard to his brethren. David, with reſpect to Saul.

The oppreſſion of the poor. The weak, widows, orphans, and ſtrangers, cry to heaven for vengeance and obtain it. Abel againſt Cain. Jacob againſt Laban

[e] Tobit iv. 23. [f] Job xxxi. 1.

and

and Eſau. Iſrael againſt the Egyptians. The blood of Gideon's children againſt Abimelech. Uriah againſt David. Naboth againſt Ahab and Jezabel.

Repentance covers the greateſt ſins, and prevents the execution of the moſt terrible threatnings. The Ninevites. The children of Iſrael very often. Ahab. Manaſſes.

V. The KNOWLEDGE of God and his attributes ſhould be one of the greateſt advantages to be drawn from the ſtudy of ſacred hiſtory.

The UNITY of God. This truth is viſible throughout the Scripture, where God ſeems every where to cry aloud, that there is no other God, or Lord, than himſelf. [s] *I am the Lord, and there is none elſe —— I am God, and there is none elſe.*

The OMNIPOTENCE of God manifeſted by the creation, preſervation and government of the world; by the facility with which he raiſes whomſoever he pleaſes to the throne and caſts them down again, eſtabliſhes kingdoms, and deſtroys them; makes nations flouriſhing and miſerable. By the ſovereign power he exerciſes not only over what is outward and viſible, but over the heart and mind, in turning them as he pleaſes, from one reſolution to another, according to his deſigns. EXAMPLES. Laban and Eſau marching againſt Jacob. The counſel of Achitophel defeated by Huſhai. The whole army of Judah tranſported with rage and a thirſt of vengeance, marching under Rehoboam againſt Jeroboam, ſtopped and diſperſed in an inſtant, upon the ſingle admonition of the prophet. The army of Iſrael returning to Samaria, laden with ſpoils, and ſending back two hundred thouſand captives upon the bare remonſtrance of certain great men of Samaria, *&c.*

The GOODNESS of God and its motives. It diffuſes itſelf with profuſion and inexhauſtibly, by be-

[s] Iſai. xlv. 18, 22.

ſtowing whatever is neceſſary, advantageous or delightful, upon men who know him not, who do not return thanks to him for it, and who even offend and blaſpheme him.

The PATIENCE of God. Bearing with the crimes and impenitence of mankind for many ages, from the preaching of Enoch to the deluge. The meaſure of the Amorites was not full, till after four hundred years were expired. The Jewiſh nation ſupply us with many inſtances of it, particularly in the ruin of Samaria and Jeruſalem, and the captivity of Iſrael and Judah, which were denounced for ſeveral years before they were executed.

The JUSTICE of God, when it ſhews itſelf at laſt, is terrible, deſtructive, inexorable; nothing can withſtand or avert it. The deluge. Sodom. Nineveh. Babylon, &c.

The character of the puniſhment is uſually proportioned to the nature of the crime. The whole earth corrupted by mankind is drowned with the waters of the deluge. The wretched cities burning with impure luſts are conſumed by fire. The adultery and homicide of David are revenged by the inceſts and murders of his children.

The PROVIDENCE of God is univerſal, preſides over all to the minuteſt particular, governs and directs all. God calls the famine, the ſword, and the peſtilence to puniſh the ungrateful, and humble the proud. He raiſes on a ſudden the ſpirit of a people, who have no thoughts of war, and brings them from far to ravage a guilty nation. He inſpires the troops with ardour, courage, obedience, and a contempt of fatigues and dangers. He gives the commanders vigilance, activity, and boldneſs for undertaking the moſt difficult things; the foreſeeing and diſtinguiſhing the moſt uſeful expedients; the authority and art of making themſelves beloved and feared at the ſame time. He removes obſtacles, facilitates enterprizes, and grants ſucceſs. On the other hand, from thoſe he means

means to deſtroy, he takes away counſel, preſence of mind, ſtrength and courage. He throws diſorder and conſternation into armies, and turns the ſwords of the ſoldiers againſt their companions. He brings about his deſigns by the moſt unlikely means, as in the hiſtory of Joſeph; and often by ſuch methods as ſeem the effects of pure chance, though all deſigned and prepared by infinite wiſdom, as is clearly ſeen in the hiſtory of David, from his condition of a ſhepherd, to the death of Saul.

Maſters, in explaining ſacred hiſtory to youth, cannot too much inſiſt upon Providence, as it is an attribute of God, which we are moſt nearly concerned to know, of the greateſt importance, and moſt neceſſary; as it influences all events both publick and private, and every man ought to have it in his view in every circumſtance of life, in every action of the day; as it is the firmeſt baſis of religion, and forms the moſt natural and ſtricteſt ties between the creature and the Creator; as it makes us more thoroughly ſenſible of our entire dependence upon him, of our weakneſs and wants, and preſents us with opportunities of exerting the greateſt virtues, ſuch as confidence in God, a grateful acknowledgment of his mercies, diſintereſtedneſs, humility, reſignation, and patience; and as it furniſhes piety and religious worſhip with the moſt uſual ſubject of their exerciſes by prayers, vows, thankſgivings, and ſacrifices.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF FUTURITY. One of the moſt incommunicable characters of the Divinity is the knowledge of futurity. God often challenges the falſe deities to foretel what is to come. [h] *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods.* In teaching ſacred hiſtory, youth muſt be made carefully to obſerve the moſt famous predictions, whether they regard temporal events, or reſpect religion; and at the ſame time the character

[h] Iſai. xli. 23.

of the prophets, their miſſion, the end and dangers of their office. They are holy and unblameable in their manners, lead a poor and obſcure life, without ambition, without intereſt, or deriving any advantage from their predictions. They are ſent to the unbelieving, who oppoſe and perſecute them, and do not ſubmit till the fulfilling of the prediction has made it evident. Their predictions regard publick events, and declare the fate of kingdoms. They are circumſtantial, publiſhed long before their accompliſhment, known to all, and within the capacity of the meſt ſimple. All theſe particulars joined together are powerful motives for belief.

VI. Laſtly, as Jeſus Chriſt is the end of the law, whenever an occaſion naturally offers, he ſhould be pointed out to youth in the hiſtories explained to them; in the ſacrifices, the ceremonies, the actions of the patriarchs, judges, kings and prophets; in a word, in all thoſe by whom God has thought fit in ſome reſpect figuratively to repreſent either Chriſt or the church, which is his ſpouſe and his work.

VII. To all theſe obſervations I cannot avoid adding one more upon the advantages of PIETY, to which youth ought carefully to attend. And indeed it hath pleaſed God to ſhew through the whole ſeries of the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, that all promiſes and rewards, with reſpect even to this life, are annexed to PIETY; that all temporal advantages ſpring from God, as their ſole original, and that we ought to expect them from him alone, though he has reſerved for his ſervants in eternity ſuch as are far more worthy his magnificence, and bear a greater proportion to virtue. It was this piety, which principally conſiſted in a firm confidence in God, that alone directed the fate of his people, and abſolutely decided the publick happineſs, and condition of the ſtate. Every thing was meaſured by it, favourable ſeaſons, plenty,

plenty, fruitfulneſs, victory over our enemies, deliverance from the greateſt dangers, freedom from a foreign yoke, the enjoyment of all the advantages that could be taſted in the boſom of a profound peace. It obtained all, and ſurmounted every difficulty. It was by piety that Jonathan with his armour-bearer alone put a whole garriſon to flight; that David unarmed overthrew the giant, and ſecured himſelf from the artifices and violence of Saul; that Jehoſhaphat, without drawing a ſword, triumphed over three nations in league againſt him; that Hezekiah ſaved Jeruſalem and the kingdom of Judah, by ſeeing the deſtruction of an hundred and fourſcore and five thouſand Aſſyrians. On the other hand, impiety drew down all the ſcourges of God's anger, famine, plague, war, defeats, bondage, and the entire ruin of the moſt mighty families, guilt always led to an unhappy end.

Such obſervations may very much contribute to inculcate ſentiments of piety inſenſibly, agreeably, without trouble or affectation, without ſeeming to preach, or to read long lectures of morality. It is the principal end which God has propoſed in connecting all the duties, virtues, precepts, ſalutary truths, myſteries, and in a word all religion, with ſuch facts as men of every condition, age, and character are affected, becauſe they fall within their capacity, and are no leſs agreeable than uſeful. To omit ſuch obſervations, were to deprive youth of the greateſt advantages to be reaped from the ſacred books, and leave them ignorant of the eſſential part of Scripture.

Having pointed out the principal things to be obſerved in reading and explaining ſacred hiſtory, and in ſome meaſure laid down the foundations and principles of that ſtudy, I ſhall next make the application of them to ſome particular facts, to ſhew how the rules I have advanced may be reduced to practice. And this I ſhall do with the greateſt order and clearneſs that I can.

CHAP. II.

The application of the foregoing principles to ſome examples.

THE examples, to which I ſhall apply the rules I have laid down, ſhall be taken from two great men very famous in Scripture, Joſeph and Hezekiah. And to the hiſtory of theſe two I ſhall add one article upon the prophecies.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

The ſtory of Joſeph.

AS this ſtory is very long and well known, I ſhall be obliged to omit or abridge ſeveral circumſtances, though very material in themſelves, that I may not dwell too much upon this ſubject.

I. *Joſeph ſold by his brethren, carried into Egypt, brought into Potiphar's houſe, and thrown into priſon.* Gen. xxxvii, xxxix, xl.

Jacob had twelve children, of which Joſeph and Benjamin the youngeſt, were born to him of Rachel. The particular affection which Jacob expreſſed towards Joſeph, the liberty Joſeph took of charging his brothers before him with a crime the Scripture does not mention, and the account he gave them of his dreams, which denoted his future greatneſs, raiſed their jealouſy and hatred againſt him.

One day as they ſaw him coming up to them in the country, where they were feeding their flocks, they ſaid

ſaid to one another, ſee here the dreamer cometh; come now therefore, let us kill him, and throw him into a pit, and we ſhall ſee what will become of his dreams. Upon the remonſtrance of Reuben, they contented themſelves with throwing him into the pit, and taking away his coat. Soon after they drew him out from thence, to ſell him to a company of Iſhmaelite merchants, who were going down into Egypt, and accordingly ſold him to them for twenty pieces of ſilver. After this they took his coat, and dipped it in the blood of a kid, and ſent it to Jacob, ſaying, This coat have we found; ſee now whether it be thy ſon's coat or no. And he knew it, and ſaid, It is my ſon's coat; a wild beaſt has devoured him; Joſeph is without doubt rent in pieces. And Jacob rent his clothes, and put ſackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his ſon many days.

The Iſhmaelites carried Joſeph into Egypt, and ſold him to one of the principal officers in Pharaoh's court, named Potiphar. *And the Lord,* ſays the Scripture, *was with Joſeph, and the Lord made all that he did to proſper in his hand.* His maſter ſeeing that the Lord was with him took him into favour, made him overſeer over his houſe, and all that he had he put into his hands. Alſo the Lord bleſſed the houſe of Potiphar, and he multiplied his bleſſings on all that he had for Joſeph's ſake.

He had now lived a conſiderable time in Potiphar's houſe, when his miſtreſs caſting her eyes upon him, in the abſence of her huſband, ſolicited him to ſin with her. But Joſeph abhorred it, and ſaid to her, How can I be ſo wicked, as to abuſe the confidence placed in me by my maſter, and commit this ſin againſt God? but ſhe went on ſtill to ſolicit him day by day, without obtaining her deſires. At laſt, as Joſeph was one day alone, ſhe took hold of his garment, and preſſed him to a conſent. But Joſeph left his garment in her hand, and fled. The woman in great indignation at his refuſal, ſet up a loud cry, and call-

ing to the men of her houſe, ſhe told them that Joſeph had attempted to do her violence, and as ſoon as he had heard her cry out, he fled. And when her huſband came home, ſhe ſaid the ſame things to him, and ſhewed him the garment as a proof of what ſhe alledged. Potiphar, too credulous to the words of his wife, gave way to the violence of his paſſion, and ſhut him up in the priſon where the King's priſoners were bound. But the Lord was with Joſeph, had compaſſion on him, and gave him grace in the eyes of the keeper of the priſon.

Whilſt Joſeph was in priſon, two of the great officers of Pharaoh's court, the chief butler and the chief baker, were thrown into the ſame place by the King's order. And the keeper charged Joſeph with them, as he had with all the other priſoners. Some time after they both dreamed a dream in the ſame night, which gave them great uneaſineſs. Joſeph explained their dreams, and foretold to the butler, that within three days he ſhould be reſtored to his employment; and told the baker, that within three days Pharaoh would hang him on a tree, and the birds ſhould eat his fleſh from off him. And as he had ſaid, ſo it fell out. The chief baker was put to death, and the butler reſtored. Joſeph beſought the butler to ſhew kindneſs to him, to make mention of him before Pharaoh, and bring him out of priſon; for I was ſtolen away, ſays he, from the land of the Hebrews, and have done nothing that they ſhould ſhut me up in this dungeon. But the chief butler being reſtored again to favour, thought no more of his interpreter.

Reflections.

Qu. What muſt we think of God's behaviour towards Joſeph, whoſe virtue drew upon him ſuch ill treatment, firſt from his brethren, who hated him, and cruelly uſed him; and then from his miſtreſs, Potiphar's

iphar's wife, who wrongfully accuſed him, and cauſed im to be ſhut up like a wretch in a dungeon?

Anſw. It has pleaſed God by this conduct to lay efore us very important inſtructions.

I. His deſign is to undeceive mankind in the falſe otions they entertain of providence and virtue. They re apt to think that God neglects the care of human ffairs, when thoſe that fear him are oppreſſed and in niſery. They think that virtue ſhould always render uch as are ſincerely poſſeſſed of it happy in this life. The Scripture overthrows theſe miſtaken prejudices by he example of Joſeph, over whom God was peculiarly watchful, and yet he was hated by his brethren, old, baniſhed, wrongfully accuſed and thrown into priſon; and for all this preſerved his virtue pure and unſullied, without being ever the better for it for ſeveral years; and was even thrown into captivity, and ran the hazard of loſing his life only for conſtantly perſevering in his duty. 'Tis true, God afterwards broke his bonds, and raiſed him to ſupreme authority. But Joſeph was prepared to ſuffer oppreſſion to the end of his days. He conſented to die in priſon, if it ſo pleaſed God; and would have been no leſs precious in his ſight, nor leſs ſecure of the eternal bleſſings he hoped from his mercy, though he had appeared to have been forſaken by him to the laſt moment.

Qu. Does it actually appear, that God took a peculiar care of Joſeph, during his misfortunes?

Anſ. The Scripture ſeems to have been particularly careful to make us obſerve in what manner God protected his ſervant, by informing us [1] that God was always with him, and for this reaſon he was a proſperous man; that he cauſed him to find favour in the ſight of his maſter, who ſaw that God was with him; and that he bleſſed him in all that he did; that he put it into Potiphar's heart to make him, young as he was, the overſeer over all his houſe; that to engage the

[1] Gen. xxxix. 2, &c.

maſter

maſter to his ſervant by a ſtronger and more laſting degree of affection, the Lord bleſſed the houſe of the Egyptian for Joſeph's ſake, and his bleſſings was upon all that he had in the houſe and in the field; inſomuch that he left all that he had in his hand, and knew not ought he had, ſave the bread that he eat; that when Joſeph was caſt into priſon, the Lord ſhewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the ſight of the keeper of the priſon, inſomuch that he committed to Joſeph's hand all the priſoners that were in the priſon, without looking to any thing that was under his hand; and placed ſuch confidence in him, that nothing was done there without his direction; that laſtly, whatever he did the Lord made it to proſper.

Qu. But notwithſtanding all theſe favours, was not the priſon a very ſorrowful dwelling for Joſeph?

Anſ. When thrown into priſon, he ſeemed forſaken of all; but God deſcended with him into the obſcure dungeon, wherein he was ſhut up. *For the Lord was with Joſeph.* And the Scripture does not ſcruple to ſay, that the eternal Wiſdom became in a manner a priſoner with him; [k] *She went down with him into the pit, and left him not in bonds.* She ſoftened the tediouſneſs of the nights, which were ſpent in watching and ſuffering. She was a light in that darkneſs, whither the rays of the ſun could not penetrate. She removed from ſolitude and captivity, which neither reading nor buſineſs could diminiſh or ſuſpend the ſenſe of, the terrible weight of diſquietude, which ſhocks the moſt reſolute. And laſtly, ſhe diffuſed a calmneſs and ſerenity over his mind, of which the ſource was inviſible and inexhauſtible. When Joſeph was made a partner in the throne of Pharaoh, it is not ſaid, that Wiſdom aſcended with him thither, as it is ſaid that ſhe deſcended with him into priſon. She accompanied him without doubt in the ſecond eſtate, but the firſt was dearer to Joſeph, and muſt be ſo to every man that has faith.

[k] Wiſd. x. 13, 14.

Qu.

Qu. What other inſtruction has it pleaſed God to give us in the conduct he obſerved with regard to Joſeph?

Anſ. He would teach us in the ſecond place how his providence conducts all things to the execution of his deſigns, and how he makes the very obſtacles, which men ſtrive to throw in their way, ſubſervient to them. The deſign of God was to raiſe Joſeph to ſuch a degree of greatneſs and power, as ſhould oblige his brothers to bow down humbly before him. Joſeph's brethren oppoſed it; but, ſays the Scripture, [1] *There is no wiſdom, nor underſtanding, nor counſel againſt the Lord.* What they did to humble to Joſeph was the firſt ſtep, by which God leads him to elevation and glory; and the horrible calumny of his unchaſte miſtreſs, which ſeemed to complete his misfortunes, was the circumſtance which advanced him almoſt to the throne.

This Joſeph obſerves himſelf to his brethren afterwards, by telling them it was not they that had ſent him into Egypt, but God that had brought him thither. [2] *So now it was not you that ſent me hither, but God.* Theſe words are great matter of conſolation to ſuch as have faith. Whatever ſhall be deſigned againſt them, ſhall become the means of ſecuring their happineſs and ſalvation. Secret machinations, or open hatred, captivity, or calumny, ſhall bring them to the point which grace has marked out for them; after which envy and injuſtice ſhall be confounded, and when they ſhall have ſettled Joſeph upon the throne, they ſhall tremble in his preſence.

Qu. What means did Joſeph make uſe of to reſiſt the temptation laid for him by his miſtreſs?

Anſ. We find in his conduct an excellent model of what we ſhould do, when we are tempted. Joſeph defends himſelf at firſt by the remembrance of God and his duty. How, ſays he, to that bold and ſhameleſs woman, can I commit ſuch an action, who have

[1] Prov. xxi. 30. [2] Gen. xlv. 8.

God for my witness and my judge? 'Tis in his sight that you and I shall both become criminal. It is he who commands me to disobey you upon this occasion. How can I escape his view, or corrupt his justice, or be covered from his indignation; [a] *How then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?* But when the temptation was become so strong, that he had cause to fear his weakness might yield to it, he betakes himself to flight, forsakes all, and exposes himself to the utmost hazard, rather than continue in such a state, as might incline him to offend against God.

Qu. Is there is no other reflection to be made upon the misfortunes and disgrace of Joseph?

Ans. How severe and unjust soever the treatment was which Joseph was to undergo, he never let fall the least word of murmuring and complaint. He never abandoned himself to discouragement, whilst he was a bond-slave, but gave himself up entirely to the service of his master. So much leisure as prisoners have, and notwithstanding the natural inclination of mankind to talk of their own adventures, he never made a recital of his. And when under a necessity of laying himself open to the chief butler, he does it with such a moderation and charity, as cannot be sufficiently admired. *For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews, and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.* He neither names his brethren who had sold him, nor his mistress who had unjustly accused him. He only says, that he was carried away and made a slave, though free-born, and condemned to a cruel prison, though he was innocent. Another person, of less humility and prudence, would have told the story of his life, and insisted on the most honourable circumstances. If he had done so, the Holy Ghost would have left a virtue in darkness, which rather than subsist in obscurity, would have chose to have been comforted under misfortune by the vain satisfaction of making itself admir-

[a] Gen. xxxix. 9.

ed;

ed; whereas care has been taken to let all ages know what Joſeph would not have mentioned in ſecret, nor in the obſcure dungeon wherein he was ſhut up.

II. *Joſeph's advancement. The firſt deſcent of his brethren into Egypt.* Gen. xli, xlii.

At the end of two full years after the butler was reſtored, Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in the ſame night. In the one he ſaw ſeven fat kine coming up out of the river, which were devoured by ſeven other lean kine, that came up after them out of the ſame river. In the ſecond he ſaw ſeven full ears of corn, which were preſently after devoured by ſeven thin ears. And when none of the wiſe men of Egypt could interpret theſe dreams, the butler remembered Joſeph, and ſpoke of him to the King, who cauſed him preſently to be brought out of priſon, and told him his dreams. Joſeph anſwered, that the ſeven fat kine and the ſeven full ears ſignified ſeven years of plenty; and the ſeven lean kine and thin ears ſignified ſeven years of famine which were to ſucceed them. And he adviſed the King to look out a wiſe and diſcreet man, who ſhould be employed during the ſeven years of plenty to lay up part of the corn in publick ſtore-houſes, that Egypt might be ſupplied from thence in the years of famine. This counſel pleaſed Pharaoh, and he ſaid to Joſeph, I appoint thee this day to rule over the land of Egypt; according to thy word ſhall my people be governed, and only I ſhall be greater than thou. At the ſame time he took off his ring* from his hand, and put it upon Joſeph's hand; and he made him to ride in the ſecond chariot which he had, and they cried before him, Bow the knee. He alſo changed his name, and gave him one which ſignified, *The Saviour of the world.*

The ſeven years of plenty fell out, as Joſeph had foretold. And he gathered up a great quantity of the corn, and laid it in the King's ſtore-houſes. The famine came next, and ſpread itſelf over all countries; but in

* This ring was the royal ſeal.

Egypt

Egypt there was corn. And when the peopl
almoſt famiſhed, they cried unto Pharaoh for
And he ſaid unto them, Go unto Joſeph, w
ſaith unto you, do. Joſeph then opened the
houſes, and ſold corn to the Egyptians and others

Jacob, having heard that there was corn in
ordered his ſons to go down thither. They
the number of ten; for Jacob kept Benjami
him, leſt ſome accident ſhould happen to him
way. When they were come into Egypt, the
ſented themſelves before Joſeph, and bowed do
fore him. Joſeph knew his brethren, and ſeein
lie at his feet, he remembered the dreams wh
had formerly dreamed, but did not make
known unto them. He ſpoke to them roughl
treated them as ſpies, who were come to take
of the country. But they anſwered him, My
we are come to buy corn; we are twelve brothe
one man's ſons, who is in the land of Canaan.
youngeſt is left with our father, the other is
Well then, anſwers Joſeph, by this ye ſhall be p
Send one of you to fetch your brother, and th
ſhall be kept in priſon. He thought fit howe
detain but one of them. Struck with terror a
morſe, they ſaid one to another in their own lan
This diſtreſs is juſtly come upon us, for being
concerning our brother. We ſaw the anguiſh
ſoul, when he beſought us to have pity on him
we would not hear him; therefore is this miſ
come upon us. Reuben, one of them, ſaid to
Spake I not then unto you, Do not ſin again

Reflections.

Qu. Why did God leave Joſeph in priſon ſo many
ears, without ſeeming to be mindful of him?
Anſ. This term, which ſeems long indeed to a
iſoner, was neceſſary to confirm Joſeph in humility,
bmiſſion to the will of God, and patience. We
ould have looked upon him with concern, had we
en him in bonds, and known his innocence. But
od, who had a far more indulgent and tender com-
ſſion for him, left him in a condition, from which
e ſhould have delivered him. He knew what was
anting to his virtue; how long the remedies requi-
e for his health were to laſt. He ſaw his future
mptations and dangers, and prepared for him dur-
g his bondage the aſſiſtances and ſtrength he would
nd in need of after his advancement. Thus he
als with his elect; he ſtrengthens them in patience
d humility, and does not expoſe them to temptation
l they are duly prepared to reſiſt it.
Qu. How came Pharaoh ſo eaſily to reſolve upon
e choice of Joſeph for his firſt miniſter, and to in-
ſt a ſtranger and a foreigner with ſovereign power?
Anſ. 'Tis the happineſs of a nation, when a Prince
inſpired with a ſalutary thought. Whilſt Joſeph
as ſpeaking to the ears of Pharaoh, God inſtructed
m in ſecret. He cauſed him to attend to the ſage
lvice and prudent counſels of a ſtranger and a cap-
ve; and removed from him all the prejudices, which
frequently hinder perſons in high ſtation from ſub-
itting to the evidence of truth, and acknowledging
underſtanding ſuperior to their own. He made
m comprehend, that a mere human wiſdom would
: improper to execute what had been ſuggeſted to him
wiſdom from above, and that it would be in vain
ſeek out for any other miniſter, than the perſon
hom God had choſen. *Can we find,* [p] ſays Pha-

[p] Gen. xli. 38.

raoh,

raoh, *such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spi God is?*

In talking thus, he entirely reformed the ene a falſe policy, which conſiders virtue and religi unſerviceable in the government of a ſtate, and an exact probity too great a check upon its view projects. This ſtupid impiety is expoſed to a ſhame by an infidel King. He is convinced, th more of the Spirit of God a miniſter has, the capable he is of governing a kingdom. And th attention ſuffices to diſcover, that the oppoſite pri flows from the utter want of human underſtandi

Qu. What muſt we think of Joſeph's glory, raiſed almoſt to a throne?

Anſ. The Holy Ghoſt informs us in another that the calumnies which had been caſt upon J were then fully diſperſed, and the authors of convicted of forgery. ¶ *As for them that had him, ſhe ſhewed them to be liars, and gave him pa glory.* Thus the pomp which ſurrounded him the triumph of virtue. 'Twas virtue, that w poſed a ſpectacle to all nations; that was ſeate magnificent chariot, from whence ſhe inſtruct righteous in all ages, never to give way to d but to retain an invincible patience. 'Twas virtue, that all the world bent the knee, and was the herald exhorting all men to the prac virtue, at the ſame time that the herald, who before him, required that external mark of r to be paid to the firſt miniſter of Pharaoh.

Qu. Were Joſeph's dreams fulfilled, with r

more they ſtrove to prevent it, and make them-
independent of him, the more they contributed
rance his authority. They reſolved not to fall
before him, whilſt they had him amongſt them;
o to ſeek him in Egypt, to throw themſelves at
et. They forſook him, and would have taken
his life, when ſent to them by their father; but
compelled to appear before him, after a kind of
ection, with fear and trembling. They fall
before him like Egypt, and the other nations,
example they follow, and are not afraid of be-
jected by him, becauſe they look upon him as
viour of the world; whereas they had before
apprehenſive of being ſubject to him, whilſt
onſidered only their own depreſſion in his ad-
ment.

. What do we learn from the remorſe of Jo-
brethren, for the cruel treatment they had
him?

. We ſee in their ſelf-accuſations both the force
ſcience, and the advantage of the holy education
gave his children, which though not always
f offence, was ſtill never totally extinguiſhed;
evered the law, which condemned their actions.
e verily guilty, [a] ſaid they one to another, *con-
our brother, and therefore is this diſtreſs juſtly
pon us.* Men can never entirely efface the ſenſe,
God has impreſſed upon their hearts of his
ce and juſtice. They will never ſucceed in per-
g themſelves, that ſin is in its nature indifferent,
s not ſeen, or will remain unpuniſhed. Their
nay be removed ſometimes by the patience and
of their judge, or the number of their accom-
; but when vengeance comes to ſhew itſelf,
hall be the firſt to own that they have deſerved
l their accomplices will then ſeem to them but
many witneſſes, who are ready to accuſe and
nd them.

[a] Gen. xlii. 21.

III. The

III. *The ſecond deſcent of Jacob's children into Egypt. Joſeph made known to his brethren.* Gen. xliii, xliv, xlv.

When Jacob's children, upon their return, had told him all that had befallen them, the impriſonment of Simeon, and the expreſs order they had received to carry Benjamin down into Egypt, the ſorrowful news filled him with grief, and renewed his former concern for the loſs of Joſeph. He long refuſed to let his dear Benjamin go, in whom he placed his ſole conſolation. But at laſt, ſeeing there was a neceſſity for it, and that otherwiſe both muſt periſh by famine, he conſented to his departure upon the repeated aſſurances his other children gave him, that they would bring him back again. They all then ſet out together with preſents for Joſeph, and double the money they had found in their ſacks.

Being come into Egypt, they preſented themſelves before Joſeph. As ſoon as he ſaw them, and Benjamin with them, he ſaid to the ruler of his houſe, Bring theſe men home, and ſlay, and make ready; for theſe men ſhall eat with me at noon. The ſteward executed Joſeph's order, and brought them into his houſe. Surprized at this treatment, they imagined he had ſought for an occaſion againſt them, becauſe of the money they had found in their ſacks. They then began to juſtify themſelves to the ſteward, by ſaying, they knew not how it came to paſs, but as a proof of their honeſty, they had brought back the money. The ſteward encouraged them, bidding them not be afraid; that their God, and the God of their fathers, had given them treaſure in their ſacks; but that for his part, he had their money. And ſtraitway he brought out Simeon unto them. They had water then given them, and when they had waſhed their feet, they waited for the coming in of Joſeph.

When Joſeph came home, they bowed themſelves to him to the earth, and offered him their preſents.

Joſeph

h having graciouſly aſked them of their welfare,
o them, Your father, the old man of whom ye
, is he yet alive? And they anſwered, Thy ſer-
ur father is in good health, he is yet alive. And
ſame time they bowed themſelves down to the
again. Joſeph caſting his eyes upon Benjamin,
s this, ſays he, your younger brother, of whom
ke to me? God be gracious, adds he to him, un-
e, my ſon. And Joſeph made haſte to go out;
e ſight of his brother had affected him ſo much,
e could no longer refrain from tears. Preſently
ıe returned to his brethren, and having ordered
ls to be brought in, he ſat down to eat with them.
ıen Joſeph had eaten with his brethren, he gave
:t order to his ſteward, to fill their ſacks with
and to put every man's money in his ſack's
ı; and put my ſilver cup, ſays he, in the ſack
: youngeſt. His ſteward obeyed, and the next
ng they departed with their aſſes loaden with
But they were ſcarce got out of the town, be-
ıſeph ſent his ſteward after them, to charge them
:ealing his cup. They were much ſurprized to
ıemſelves accuſed of ſo baſe an action, which
ad never ſo much as thought of. We brought
ſaid they, the money we found in our ſacks
s, how then ſhould we ſteal out of thy lord's
ſilver or gold? With whomſoever of thy ſer-
t is found, let him die; and alſo we will be my
bondmen. The ſteward took them at their
; and ſearching their ſacks, beginning with the
the cup was found in Benjamin's ſack.
:y returned to the city in great affliction, and
o throw themſelves at Joſeph's feet. After ſome
:hes, he told them, that he, in whoſe ſack the
ıs found, ſhould continue his ſlave. Then Ju-
aving aſked leave to ſpeak, repreſented to Jo-
that if they returned to their father without
ıg back with them the ſon he ſo tenderly loved,
ould kill him with ſorrow. I, adds he, became
a ſurety

a ſurety for him with my father; let me therefore, I pray thee, abide in his ſtead a bondman to my lord: For I cannot return without him, leſt I ſee the evil that ſhall come upon my father.

At theſe words Joſeph could refrain himſelf no longer. He commanded all that were preſent to go out from him. Then, the tears falling from his eyes, he cried aloud, and ſaid to his brethren, I am Joſeph. Does my father yet live? And they could not anſwer him, for they were troubled at his preſence. He then ſpoke gently to them, and ſaid, Come near to me. And as they came near, I am Joſeph, ſays he, your brother, whom you ſold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved and angry with yourſelves, that you ſold me hither; for God ſent me before you to preſerve life. So now it was not you that ſent me hither, but God. Go, tell my father, that God hath made me lord of all Egypt. Let him make haſte to come down, and he ſhall dwell near me; and I will nouriſh him and all his family, for there are yet five years more of famine. You ſee with your eyes, that it is I who am talking to you. Tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that you have ſeen; and make haſte to bring him down hither. And when he had ſaid thus, he fell upon Benjamin's neck, and embraced him with tears. And he kiſſed all his brethren, and after that they were encouraged to talk with him.

The news was ſoon ſpread thro' the whole court. Pharaoh expreſſed his ſatisfaction in it to Joſeph, and bade him preſently bring down all his family into Egypt. Joſeph diſmiſſed his brethren with proviſions for their journey, and waggons to bring down their father, their wives and children. When they were come into the land of Canaan, they ſaid to Jacob, Joſeph your ſon is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt. And Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not. But at laſt, when he had heard all that had paſt, and had ſeen the waggons, and

the

he other preſents his ſon had ſent, he ſaid, It is nough, Joſeph my ſon is yet alive; I will go and ſee im before I die. He ſoon after took his journey vith all his family, and went down into Egypt. And vhen he had paid his reſpects to the King, Joſeph laced him in the land of Goſhen, the moſt fruitful art of Egypt, where Jacob lived ſeventy years.

Reflections.

Qu. Joſeph's diſcovering himſelf to his brethren is he moſt affecting and tender part of his ſtory, but is receded by ſtrange circumſtances. In ſhort, how an we reconcile his forgetfulneſs and indifference to- vards his father and brethren, whom he leaves expoſ- ed to the fatal conſequences of a cruel famine, and he extreme ſeverity he uſes them with in calumniat- ng and impriſoning them; how, I ſay, can we re- oncile all this with that goodneſs and tenderneſs, vhich cannot help ſhewing itſelf at the very time hat he is uſing them thus ſeverely?

Anſ. 'Tis this ſeeming contradiction, which hould let us ſee, that there is ſome myſtery concealed nder the outſide of an action, which otherwiſe night offend reaſon, and appear oppoſite to the ſen- iments which nature has implanted in the hearts of ll mankind.

Joſeph ſold by his brethren to the Egyptians, con- idered by Jacob as dead, forgotten by all his family, onoured in the mean time and ruling in Egypt, is nconteſtably the figure of Jeſus Chriſt, delivered into he hands of the Gentiles by the Jews, generally re- ounced by his own nation, put to death by their ruel envy, owned and adored by the Gentiles as heir Saviour and their King.

In the firſt journey the children of Jacob made into Egypt, 'tis ſaid, [q] *that Joſeph knew his brethren, but was not known by them.* This is the condition of the

[q] Gen xlii. 8.

Jews. By refuſing to ſubmit to Jeſus Chriſt, they ceaſed to ſee him, but could not free themſelves from his dominion. They read the Scriptures, and there they find their Lord without knowing him. They ſaw him, and did not receive him. He ſpoke to them in parables, becauſe they were unworthy to hear the myſteries which they refuſed to believe. But the vail will not always remain over their heart.

During the long interval their blindneſs laſts, they ſuffer a cruel famine, not of material bread, but as the prophet had foretold, of the word of God, which they are not allowed to underſtand. [r] *I will ſend a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.* The land of Canaan is condemned to a total ſterility. The true bread of life is found only in Egypt. Whoever would live muſt neceſſarily go down thither; and till Benjamin, the laſt of Jacob's children, and the figure of the latter Jews, appears there in perſon, the famine will ſorely afflict that wretched nation.

Hitherto Joſeph ſhall appear to be hard-hearted towards his brethren. He ſhall ſpeak to them, as tho' he knew them not, with an angry voice and a rigid countenance. [s] *He made himſelf ſtrange unto them, and ſpake roughly to them.* 'Tis thus that Chriſt has long behaved towards an ungrateful and blind people. He appears not to know his brethren according to the fleſh. He ſeems to have forgotten the fathers of a faithleſs and bloody generation.

Yet Joſeph offered violence to himſelf in concealing his affection. He could not refrain from weeping; he was obliged to turn aſide, to hide his face, and withdraw from time to time to vent his tears. The pains he took to conceal them, was the figure of that ſecret mercy hid in the boſom of God, and reſerved till the time appointed in his eternal counſel. The promiſes of God will be accompliſhed upon Iſrael; for his gifts are without repentance, and his truth endureth

[r] Amos viii. 11. [s] Gen. xlii. 7.

ever. But a juſt ſeverity ſuſpends the effects of
ncy, which our groans, joined to thoſe of the
ts, are to haſten.

Can Joſeph be looked upon in any other cir-
nces of his life as the figure of Jeſus Chriſt?
There are few ſaints of the Old Teſtament,
om God has been pleaſed to expreſs ſo many
ſtances of reſemblance with his ſon, as in Jo-
The bare repetition of them will be an evi-
oof of this obſervation.

ulars of agreement between Jeſus Chriſt and Joſeph.

JOSEPH.	JESUS CHRIST.
is hated of his bre-	He is hated by the Jews.
or accuſing them of reat crime.	1. For reproving them for their ſins.
For being affection- beloved by his fa-	2. For declaring himſelf to be the Son of God, and ſaying, that God himſelf called him his well-beloved Son.
For foretelling his glory.	3. For foretelling, that they ſhould ſee him ſitting at the right hand of God.
is ſent by his father brethren at a diſ-	He is ſent by God his Father to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael.
brethren conſpire t his life.	The Jews form a deſign of putting him to death.
is ſold for twenty of ſilver.	He is ſold for thirty pieces of ſilver.
is given up into the of ſtrangers by his rethren.	He is delivered up to the Romans by the Jews.

His garment was dipped in blood.

He is condemned by Potiphar, without any one's ſpeaking in his behalf.

He ſuffers in ſilence.

Placed between two criminals, he foretels the advancement of the one, and the approaching death of the other.

He lies three years in priſon.

He arrives at glory by ſufferings and humiliations.

He is ſet over the houſe of Pharaoh, and over all Egypt.

Pharaoh alone is above him.

He was called the Saviour of the world.

All bend the knee before him.

The famine is in all lands; there is no bread but in Egypt, where Joſeph governs.

All are ſent back to Joſeph by Pharaoh.

All

The humanity he was clothed with, ſuffers a bloody death.

He is condemned, and no body ſpeaks in his defence.

He ſuffers all kind of injuries and puniſhments without complaining.

Placed between two thieves, he foretels the one, that he ſhould go into paradiſe, and lets the other die impenitent.

He lies three days in the grave.

It behoved that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and thus enter into his glory.

He is made head of the church, and every creature is made ſubject unto him.

He is above every creature, but ſubject to God as man.

His name of JESUS ſignifies a Saviour, and is indeed the only one by whom we can be ſaved.

Every creature muſt bow at the name of Jeſus Chriſt.

Poverty and error are univerſal; truth and grace are found only in the Church, where Jeſus Chriſt reigns.

There is no ſalvation, no grace but by Jeſus Chriſt.

All

All the neighbouring people come into Egypt to buy corn.	All nations are admitted into the church to obtain ſalvation.
Joſeph's brethren come to him, own him, fall down before him, and are fixed in Egypt.	The Jews will one day return to Jeſus Chriſt, own him, worſhip him, and enter into the church.

In all theſe applications, and I could add ſeveral others, is there any thing forced or conſtrained? Could pure chance have poſſibly thrown together ſo many reſembling circumſtances, ſo different, and at the ſame time ſo natural? I ſhould as ſoon ſay, that the moſt finiſhed and reſembling portrait was alſo the effect of mere chance. 'Tis plain, that an intelligent hand did purpoſely contrive and apply all theſe colours to make a perfect picture, and that the deſign of God in joining together ſo many ſingular circumſtances in the life of Joſeph, was to deſcribe the principal lines in that of his Son. We ſhould therefore know the hiſtory of Joſeph only by halves, if we ſtopped at the bare ſurface, without informing ourſelves of the hidden and myſterious ſenſe, wherein the moſt eſſential part of it conſiſts, as Jeſus Chriſt is the end of the law, and of all the Scriptures.

I beg the reader to obſerve, that though theſe particulars relating to Joſeph and Jeſus Chriſt are ſo extremely natural and alike, there is no mention made of their agreement either in the Goſpels or the writings of the Apoſtles; which ſhews, that beſides the figures which are explained in the New Teſtament, there are others ſo plain and evident, that we cannot reaſonably doubt of their containing alſo ſome myſtery. But we muſt be very cautious and reſerved upon this laſt kind, eſpcially when we are inſtructing youth, and principally inſiſt upon the figures of which Chriſt and his Apoſtles have made the application.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

The miraculous deliverance of Jeruſalem under Hezekiah.

I SHALL treat of this fact only in the life of the holy King Hezekiah, as it is one of the moſt ſignal in ſacred hiſtory, and moſt proper to make us ſenſible of the omnipotence of God, and his watchfulneſs over thoſe, who place their confidence in him. And here I ſhall barely point out the principal circumſtances, which the reader may ſee at large, if he conſults the hiſtorical books, that give an account of it, and eſpecially the prophecies of Iſaiah, which contain a very clear and expreſs prediction of it.

[t] Sennacherib, King of the Aſſyrians, was ſet out from Nineveh with a formidable army, deſigning to deſtroy utterly the city of Jeruſalem with its King and inhabitants. [u] He aſſured himſelf of victory, and inſulted before-hand the God of Jeruſalem, ſaying, he would treat him as he had done the gods of all the other cities and kingdoms he had conquered.

He knew not that he was but an inſtrument in the hand of God, who called him by an hiſſing (as the Scripture expreſſes it [w]) from the end of the earth, not to deſtroy, but to correct his people.

All oppoſition gave way before the victorious arms of this Prince; in a little time he made himſelf maſter of all the fortified places in the land of Judah. [x] Jeruſalem was in great conſternation. Hezekiah had taken all neceſſary meaſures to put the city in a condition to make a vigorous defence; but he relied only upon the divine aſſiſtance for its deliverance. [z] God had engaged himſelf by a ſolemn and frequently repeated promiſe to defend the city againſt the aſ-

[t] 2 Kings xviii. 13.
[u] Iſa. x. 7, 15.
[w] Iſa. v. 26. vii. 18. x. 5, 6.
[x] 2 Chron. xxxii. 2, 8.
[y] Iſa. xxx.

ſault

fault of the King of Aſſyria, but upon condition that the inhabitants ſhould depend only upon him, ſhould remain quiet, and not ſeek aid from the King of Egypt. *In returning and reſt ſhall ye be ſaved,* [a] ſaid he to them, *in quietneſs and in confidence ſhall be your ſtrength.* [b] He had ſeveral times declared to them, that the ſtrength of Egypt ſhould turn to their ſhame and confuſion. [b] To render this prediction ſtill more ſenſible to them, he had obliged the prophet Iſaiah to walk naked and barefoot thro' the midſt of Jeruſalem, declaring that ſuch ſhould be the fate of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.

The great men, the politicians, could not be ſatisfied to continue unactive, and rely upon the promiſe of God. [c] They collected a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſent deputies to the King of Egypt to implore his aſſiſtance. Several of them thought fit to retire into that country, in hopes of finding a ſecure retreat there againſt the evils with which they were threatened. God ſeveral times reproached them for it by his prophet, but always in vain. And the holy King Hezekiah inceſſantly repeated to them: [d] *The Lord will deliver us; Jeruſalem ſhall not be delivered into the hand of the Aſſyrians.* But they hearkened not unto him.

[e] This holy King, fearing he had done wrong in breaking the treaty he had made with the King of Aſſyria, reſolved, in order to have nothing to reproach himſelf with, and all poſſible right on his ſide, to make him entire ſatisfaction. He therefore ſent embaſſadors to Lachiſh, and ſaid to him, I have offended, return from me; that which thou putteſt on me I will bear. And the King of Aſſyria appointed Hezekiah to give him three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty talents of gold. This ſum he raiſed with

[a] Ver. 15.
[a] Ver. 1—5.
[b] Iſa. xx. 1—5.
[c] Iſa. xxx.
[d] 2 Kings xviii. 32. and xix. 10.
[e] 2 Kings xviii. 19.

much difficulty, and ſent it to him. There was reaſon to hope, that ſuch a ſtep would have diſarmed the rage of Sennacherib; but he grew more haughty upon it, and adding perfidy to injuſtice, he ſent immediately a large body of troops againſt Jeruſalem, with orders to Rabſhakeh, who commanded that detachment, to ſummon Hezekiah and the inhabitants to ſurrender, in the name of the great King, the King of Aſſyria. This officer diſcharged his commiſſion in terms full of contempt for the King of Judah, and inſults againſt the God of Iſrael. When Hezekiah heard it, he rent his clothes, put ſackcloth upon his loins, and went into the houſe of the Lord; from whence he diſpatched his principal officers to Iſaiah, to tell him the inſolent words of Rabſhakeh. The prophet replied, You ſhall ſay thus to your maſter, Thus ſaith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words which thou haſt heard, with which the ſervants of the King of Aſſyria have blaſphemed me. Behold, I will ſend a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall hear a rumour, and ſhall return to his own land, and I will cauſe him to fall by the ſword in his own land.

[f] In the mean time Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, had ſent meſſengers to Jeruſalem, to aſſure the inhabitants that he was coming up to their relief. And ſoon after he arrived with his whole army, joined to that of the Egyptians. [g] Upon the firſt news that Sennacherib received of it, he reſolved to march againſt him. But firſt he ſent his embaſſadors to Hezekiah, with a letter full of blaſphemies againſt the God of Iſrael. The holy King, in great affliction, went ſtrait to the temple, ſpread forth this impious letter before the Lord, and repreſented to him in a lively and pathetick prayer, that it was againſt him they fought, that the glory of his name was affected, and that for this reaſon he preſumed to aſk

[f] Iſa. xviii. 1—3. [g] 2 Kings xix. 9—34.

a miracle

than a ſervant, thinks himſelf the maſter, and not ſeeing the hand which employs him, aſcribes all to his own, and fears not to ſet himſelf in the place of God. Can the inſtrument, ſays God, boaſt itſelf againſt the artiſt who makes uſe of it? Does the work properly belong to the inſtrument or the workman? Is it not the height of folly, that the inſtrument ſhould riſe up againſt the hand and underſtanding that employ it? Yet thus did the King of Aſſyria think and act.

II. *The great men apply to the Kings of Ethiopia and Egypt.*

We ſee here how dangerous it is to prefer the views of human prudence to thoſe of faith. God had promiſed to deliver Jeruſalem, provided the inhabitants would keep themſelves quiet, and place their ſole confidence in him. Here they were to fix. But the aſſiſtance of God was inviſible, and ſeemed at a diſtance. The danger was preſent and augmented daily. The ſuccours of Egypt were nigh at hand, and ſeemed certain. According to all the rules of human policy, nothing ought to have been omitted towards obtaining the protection of two ſuch powerful Kings, as thoſe of Egypt and Ethiopia. Beſides, would it not be tempting God, to expect a miracle? And in the extreme danger they were, would it not be folly to continue unactive? The event will ſhew, whether theſe politicians or Hezekiah reaſoned moſt juſtly.

III. *The impious ſpeeches and blaſpheming letter of Sennacherib.*

• The ſpeeches and letter of Sennacherib with reaſon appear impious, ſenſeleſs, and deteſtable in the mouth of a worm againſt the Majeſty of heaven.

• 2 Kings xix.

This Prince, blinded by his ſucceſs, and not knowing whence it aroſe, entertained the ſame notions of the God of Judah, as of all the other Gods, whoſe power, in his opinion, was confined to certain regions, and ſome particular effects, and were capable of being entirely overthrown, notwithſtanding their divinity. He ſaw nothing in the God of Iſrael to diſtinguiſh him from the multitude of gods he had conquered. His empire was encloſed within the narrow limits of a ſmall country, and confined to the mountains. His name was ſcarce known among the neighbouring nations. This God had already ſuffered the ten tribes to be carried away by the Kings of Nineveh. He had juſt loſt all the fortified places of the tribe of Judah, which alone was left him; and all his dominions, all his people, all his worſhippers, and his whole religion were reduced to a ſingle city, in all outward appearance without any power to ſecure itſelf from the deſtruction, which Sennacherib looked upon as inevitable.

'Tis admirable to ſee in what manner God is pleaſed to confound the inſolent pride of this Prince, who cauſed himſelf to be called the great King, the King by way of excellence; who conſidered himſelf as an invincible conqueror, as the lord of the earth, and the ſubduer of men and gods. This Prince, ſo proud and haughty, the God of Iſrael will treat as a wild beaſt; he will put a hook in his noſe, and a bridle in his mouth, and turn him back with diſgrace and infamy by the ſame way that he came triumphant and glorious. Such is the fate of human pride.

IV. *The defeat of the King of Ethiopia.*

'Tis eaſy to diſcern in the puniſhment of the King of Ethiopia the jealouſy of the Lord of hoſts againſt whomever pretends to be his rival, or to ſhare with him in glory, by preſuming to aſſiſt him in the preſervation

ervation of his inheritance, or in freeing it from difficulties wherein his promiſes had too far engaged it; and in the ſad fate of the Iſraelites, who had recourſe to Egypt, we may plainly ſee the condemnation of all ſuch, as either doubt of the promiſes made to the church, whereof Jeruſalem is certainly the figure, or who think that under certain difficult and dangerous circumſtances they ſtand in need of human ſtrength and wiſdom.

V. *The army of the Aſſyrians cut off by the deſtroying angel.*

The ſhort and plain manner, in which this wonderful event is related in the hiſtorical books, is truly worthy of the grandeur of God. *And it came to paſs that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and ſmote in the camp of the Aſſyrians an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand.* With what eaſe can God bring down the pride of an haughty Prince, deſtroy ſo many brave officers, and exterminate ſo numerous and formidable an army? It coſts him but a blaſt: *I will ſend,* ſaid he, *a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall return into his own land.*

But the ſublimity that appears in the prophet's ſtile, who foretold all the circumſtances of this great event, is no leſs worthy the Divine Majeſty, who here diſplayed his omnipotence in ſo wonderful a manner. With what noble ideas do the expreſſions of Iſaiah preſent us? [p] When all ſeemed deſperate, I will change the face of affairs in a moment, ſaid the Lord, *it ſhall be at an inſtant, ſuddenly.* When the enemies of Jeruſalem, who know not that they act by my commiſſion, ſhall think themſelves maſters, I will make them as ſmall as the duſt in one night. I will ſcatter them as a whirlwind. They ſhall find no general in the morning; not one officer with his company;

[p] Iſa. xxix. 5, 8.

and

and the confidence they had that Jeruſalem was theirs, ſhall be like the imagination of an hungry man in his dream, who thinks that he eats, but wakes and finds himſelf empty. *It ſhall even be as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold he eateth; but he awaketh, and his ſoul is empty.*

The ſenſeleſs pride of Sennacherib, his impious blaſphemies, awaken the Lord, who ſeemed as tho' he were aſleep. And when they underſtand the full force and energy of theſe words, [q] *Now will I ariſe, now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myſelf.* From his throne and ſanctuary upon mount Sion God ſends forth thunder and lightning; from his altar in Jeruſalem, the ſacred furnace, where a perpetual fire burns to his glory, proceeds avenging flames to devour his enemies. [r] *Thus ſaith the Lord, whoſe fire is in Sion, and whoſe furnace is in Jeruſalem.*

In effect, [s] Iſaiah deſcribes the ſurpriſing deſtruction of a whole army, offered up to the juſt vengeance of a jealous God ſo unworthily inſulted, as a publick and ſolemn ſacrifice. The hand of the Lord, ſays the Prophet, ſhall ſmite and ſcatter, and univerſally deſtroy. The terrible noiſe of his thunder ſhall be to him and his ſervants, whom he undertakes to defend, as an agreeable concert of tabrets and harps, and other inſtruments of muſick, which, upon great feaſts, accompany the offering of ſacrifice; and the Aſſyrians ſacrificed to his vengeance ſhall be to him as a ſolemn victim. *Auditam faciet Dominus gloriam vocis ſuæ, & terroren brachii ſui oſtendet in comminatione furoris, & flamma ignis devorantis; allidet in turbine & in lapide grandinis. A voce enim Domini pavebit Aſſur, virgâ percuſſus. Et erit tranſitus virgæ fundatus, quam*

[q] Iſa. xxxiii. 10. The French tranſlation loſes a great part of the beauty of this, by not repeating the word now. "Je me leverai maintenant, je ſignalerai me grandeur, je ferai eclater ma puiſſance."

[r] Iſa. xxxi. 8, 9.

[s] Iſa. xxx. 30, 32.

requieſcere

requieſcere faciet Dominus ſuper eum tympanis, & cytharis; & in bellis præcipuis expugnabit eos. The original term is proper to ſacrifices, and the paſſage may be tranſlated thus, *& bellis* or *certamine, quod ſacrificio ſolenni ſimile erit, expugnabit eos.*

VI. *Reaſons of God's patience in bearing with Sennacherib, and his ſlowneſs in the deliverance of Jeruſalem.*

No one knows the deſigns of God before they are executed; and whilſt they are accompliſhing, it is impoſſible to point out where numberleſs events will end, whereof we can neither perceive the connexion, the uſes, nor motives, and which ſeem to induce the neceſſity of univerſal ruin.

When the publick evils began to ſhew themſelves in the time of Hezekiah, they ſeemed to be extreme. When all the country was ruined, and the cities deſtroyed, theſe misfortunes were believed without reſource, and incapable of remedy. But when Jeruſalem ſaw the formidable army of the Aſſyrians at their gates, the famine and the peſtilence raging within, and all human hope cut off by the defeat of the Ethiopians, who were coming up to their relief; it then ſeemed folly to expect a miraculous protection, ſince God had oppoſed all outward means of help, and declared in favour of the enemy.

A weak faith was incapable of ſupporting ſo long a trial, and thoſe who had the ſtrongeſt and moſt perſevering, were aſtoniſhed at the ſlowneſs wherewith God fulfilled his promiſes, and ſurpriſed at his patience in ſuffering all to periſh, and be reduced almoſt to a condition of not being the better for his aſſiſtance. But it belongs not to the clay to judge of the time that is taken up in the faſhioning it. The firſt ſtrokes of the chiſel do not poliſh a ſtone, or form a beautiful ſtatue: nor is it a moderate fire that will melt and purify gold. God attends to his own wiſ-

dom and mercy, and not to the thoughts of man, in completing his works. He does not leave them imperfect, in compliance with their ſhort views or impatience, he preſeveres in his deſigns, though he deſpiſes not the groans and tears of his ſervants, till all that he has reſolved is accompliſhed.

He then lays aſide all the preparations, ſprings, and movements he made uſe of to bring about his works. He ſtops the hands which he conducted; he ſuſpends the action of the inſtruments, which are now no longer ſerviceable; he permits not the chiſel to cut the figure that is thoroughly perfected; and he breaks in pieces abundance of materials, that were employed only for a ſeaſon.

'Twas thus God dealt with Sennacherib: He uſed him as an inſtrument to correct his people, and purify Jeruſalem. After he had reduced the city to a ſmall number of righteous perſons, who were deeply humbled under his afflicting hand, he then thought of puniſhing the blaſphemies of that Prince, whoſe pride had led him into impiety. *When the Lord had performed his whole work upon mount Sion, and on Jeruſalem, then,* ſaith he, *I will puniſh the fruit of the ſtout heart of the king of Aſſyria, and the glory of his high looks.*

VII. *Truſt in God the prevailing character of Hezekiah.*

'Tis remarkable, that the Holy Ghoſt, the ſole good judge of real merit, in drawing the character of ſo holy a Prince as Hezekiah, reſts ſatisfied with ſaying, that he truſted in the Lord God of Iſrael: [1] *In Domino Deo Iſrael ſperavit.* The Scripture adds, that he carried this virtue farther than any of the Kings of Judah, who came after him, or went before him. Faith indeed was never put to ſo long and ſevere a

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 5.

trial.

rial. All was againſt him. It looked like folly to wait any longer for the aſſiſtance of heaven, when all was deſperate, and to refuſe upon a ſingle man's word either to ſubmit to the king of Aſſyria, or to implore any foreign aid. But depending ſtrongly upon the word of God, he continued firm, as though he had ſeen the inviſible, and relied upon the promiſe by firmly perſiſting in an unvariable hope, without ſuffering himſelf to be enfeebled by any of the moſt preſſing motives. The event juſtified his conduct. When the protection of God was manifeſted at laſt by the entire deſtruction of the army of the Aſſyrians, he, who the night before was looked upon by all as weak and ſenſeleſs, became on a ſudden in the eyes of the ſame judges the wiſeſt man in the world, for having truſted in the Almighty. Thus it will always be, and whoſoever ſhall put their truſt in God, ſhall never be confounded.

VIII. *The deliverance of Jeruſalem the figure of the church.*

The principal advantage to be drawn from this hiſtory, is to compare what here befel Jeruſalem with what has befallen the church in all ages, to ſee its dangers, its remedies, and the promiſe of a certain victory over all its enemies. One verſe of the forty-ſeventh Pſalm, which is undoubtedly prophetical, and reſpects this event, may aſſiſt us in making the compariſon. *Walk about Sion, and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof.* 'Tis the prophet that ſpeaks in the name of the Prince and the heads of the people, who after ſo ſudden and miraculous a deliverance, exhorts the reſt of the citizens to go round Jeruſalem within and without, to be witneſs themſelves of the good condition of the fortifications. See, ſay they to them, whether the enemy has made ſo much as one ſingle breach, if they have broke down one tower, or can boaſt of any advantage gained over the vigi-

lance

lance and ſtrength of him, who is the protector of it. [a] *Circumdatur Sion, & circuite eam; numerate turres ejus.*

The church, from its birth, has often been attacked, beſieged on every ſide, and to all outward appearance ready to periſh. But all its enemies have had the fate of Sennacherib; and after many fears and troubles, her faith has remained always pure, her doctrine has prevailed over all errors, her foundations have been unſhaken, and ſhe has never been found to have ſuffered any loſs, or been obliged to give up any of her tenets, or to depart from the ancient tradition which ſerves her as a rampart againſt new enemies that continually ſucceed one another.

Thus it will be in all ages, and it will be an equal misfortune to attack the church, or to deſpair of God's protection of it, and to think it ſtands in need of human ſuccour to defend it. All thoſe, who thought thus of Jeruſalem, periſhed; but the faith of thoſe, who waited for God's aſſiſtance, and did not doubt of his promiſes, ſaved them, and enriched them with the ſpoils of their enemies.

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

Prophecies.

WE may diſtinguiſh prophecies into two ſorts. Some are purely ſpiritual, and relate only to Jeſus Chriſt and the Church. Of this ſort is the firſt and moſt ancient of all, when [v] God after Adam's fall, curſed the ſerpent, and declared that the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe his head, *i. e.* the

[a] *So S. Jerome tranſlates this verſe.* [v] Gen. iii. 15.

Saviour

Saviour of the world, who ſhould one day come to deſtroy the power of the devil. Such alſo were thoſe of [r] Jacob, who ſpecifies the time of the Meſſiah's coming, and of [s] Daniel, who points out in a very particular manner the expreſs time of the Meſſiah's ſuffering, and the conſequences of his death.

There are prophecies of another kind, which we may call hiſtorical, that foretel temporal events; and theſe are uſually predictions and types of other events, which are more important and ſpiritual. We have ſeen ſeveral of this ſort in the hiſtory of Sennacherib, whereof the prophet Iſaiah had long before ſpecified abundance of circumſtances, which are not to be met with in the hiſtorical books. There is another very famous prediction in the ſame prophet, concerning the conqueſt of Babylon by Cyrus, who is expreſly mentioned by name two hundred years before he was born, and foretelling the deliverance of the people of the Jews. It is eaſily diſcernable, that theſe two great events, which include almoſt all the prophecies of Iſaiah, the miraculous deliverance of Jeruſalem under King Hezekiah, and the conqueſt of Babylon, with the ſubſequent deliverance of the Jews in captivity there, were the figure and pledge of other events relating to religion.

One might refer to a third ſort of prophecies what I am now going to explain, whereof one part is purely hiſtorical, and the other purely ſpiritual. It is the famous prediction of Daniel, occaſioned by the image made up of different metals. I chuſe this in preference to the reſt, as it peculiarly relates to a part of profane hiſtory, of which I ſhall ſoon treat.

[r] Gen. xlix. 10. [s] Dan. ix. 24, 27.

THE CONTRAST.—When Joseph Sutcliff was near his last hour he said, "I have been thinking of the difference between the death of Paul and Byron. Paul said, "The time of my departure is at hand; but there is laid up for me a crown." Byron said:

"My days are in the yellow leaf,
The flower, the fruit of life is gone:
The worm, the canker, and the grief,
Are mine alone."

THE PROPHECY OF DANIEL.

Occaſioned by the ſtatue of different metals.

WHILST Daniel was very young, the King of Babylon had a myſterious dream, of which he loſt the diſtinct idea, but however preſerved a confuſed notion of it, that troubled him. He required therefore of the wiſe men of Babylon, that they ſhould tell him what it was he had forgot, and withal give him the interpretation of it, under the penalty of being put to death, in caſe they failed: Daniel, who was included in the general order, with three young Hebrews, who were expoſed to the ſame danger, had recourſe to prayer, and learnt [a] by divine revelation what he could not know by any natural means, and [b] all the wiſe men of Babylon had agreed was otherwiſe impoſſible to be known.

"Thou, O King, then, ſays Daniel to him, ſaw-
"eſt, and behold a great image: this great image,
"whoſe brightneſs was excellent, ſtood before thee,
"and the form thereof was terrible. This image's
"head was of fine gold, his breaſt and his arms of
"ſilver, his belly and his thighs of braſs, his legs of
"iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou
"ſaweſt, till that a ſtone was cut out without hands,
"which ſmote the image upon his feet, that were of
"iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then
"was the iron, the clay, the braſs, the ſilver and the
"gold broken to pieces together, and became like the
"chaff of the ſummer threſhing-floors, and the wind
"carried them away, that no place was found for
"them; and the ſtone that ſmote the image became
"a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

To this firſt revelation Daniel added the interpretation of the dream. "Thou, O King, ſaid he,

[a] Dan. ii. 19, 28. [b] Ver. 11.

"art

"art this head of gold; and after thee ſhall ariſe "another kingdom inferior to thee, which ſhall be of "ſilver; and another third kingdom of braſs, which "ſhall rule over the whole earth. And the fourth "kingdom ſhall be as ſtrong as iron; and as iron "breaketh in pieces and ſubdueth all things, ſhall "it break in pieces and bruiſe." He then explains what was meant by the feet being part of iron and part of clay, and thus goes on: "And in the days "of theſe Kings ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a "kingdom, which ſhall not be deſtroyed; and the "kingdom ſhall not be left to other people, but it "ſhall break in pieces and conſume all theſe king-"doms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever."

This prophecy of Daniel's has two parts, and may be conſidered as hiſtorical and ſpiritual. In the firſt he plainly points out the four great monarchies; of the Babylonians, where Nabuchodonoſor actually reigned; of the Medes and Perſians; of the Greeks and Macedonians; and of the Romans; and the very order of their ſucceſſion is a proof of it. In the ſecond he deſcribes the kingdom of Chriſt, or the church, in magnificent terms, which was to ſurvive to the ruin of all the reſt, and to ſubſiſt to all eternity.

A Chriſtian maſter in explaining theſe prophecies, ſhould be very careful to make youth ſenſible of the evident proof they contain of the truth of their religion. For whence could Daniel learn this ſucceſſion and order of different monarchies? [b] Who could diſcover to him the change of empires, but he who is Lord both of empires and the terms of their duration, who has fixed all things by his decrees, and reveals the knowledge of them to whom he pleaſes by a ſupernatural light.

[b] He changeth the times and the ſeaſons, he removeth Kings and ſetteth up Kings; he revealeth the deep and ſecret things, and the light dwelleth with him. Dan. ii. 21, 22.

As

As youth are alſo to be inſtructed in profane hiſtory, it will be expedient, upon occaſion of the prophecy I have juſt mentioned, to make them obſerve that the ſame prophet [c] has elſewhere deſcribed the four great monarchies under the figure of four beaſts; and to dwell ſome time upon another prediction mentioned in the following chapter, relating to Alexander the Great, which is one of the cleareſt and moſt circumſtantial in the whole Scripture.

The prophet, [d] after having expreſſed the monarchies of the Perſians and Macedonians under the figure of two beaſts, [e] thus clearly explains himſelf: "The ram, which thou ſaweſt, having two horns, "are the Kings of Media and Perſia; and the rough "goat is the King of Grecia; and the great horn "that is between his eyes, is the firſt King."

What can the moſt obſtinate incredulity object to a prophecy ſo clear and evident as this? By what means did Daniel ſee that the empire of the Perſians was to be deſtroyed by that of the Greeks, which was ſo abſolutely improbable? How could he know the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts, which he deſcribes ſo beautifully by ſaying, [f] that he touched not the earth? *non tangebat terram?* How could he know, [g] that Alexander would have no ſon to ſucceed him? that his empire would be divided into four principal kingdoms? that his ſucceſſors would be of his own nation and not of his kindred? and that out

c Chap. vii.

d And behold a ram, which had two horns, and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other. . . . And behold an he-goat came from the Weſt, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground. . . And when he was come cloſe to the ram, he was moved with choler againſt him . . . . and caſt him down to the ground, and ſtampen upon him with his feet. Dan. viii. 3, &c.

e Ver. 20, 21.

f Ver. 5.

g And a mighty King ſhall ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion. . . . and his kingdom ſhall be broken, and ſhall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled. Dan. xi. 34.

Four kingdoms ſhall ſtand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Dan. viii. 22.

of

ſ the ruins of a monarchy ſo ſuddenly raiſed, ſhould ɔe formed diſtinct eſtates in the Eaſt and Weſt, the North and South?

In explaining this prophecy to youth, they muſt ıot forget to obſerve to them what [h] Joſephus the ıiſtorian ſays upon the occaſion of Alexander's entry nto Jeruſalem. This prince advanced towards the ɔity in great indignation againſt the Jews, who had declared in favour of Darius, and aſſiſted him with their troops. The high-prieſt Jaddus, in conſequence of a revelation which had been made him, went in proceſſion to meet Alexander, cloathed in his pontifical robes, with all the other prieſts in their proper veſtments, and the Levites in white. As ſoon as Alexander ſaw him, he bowed down himſelf to the ground before him, and worſhipped the God whoſe miniſter he was, and whoſe venerable name he bore on his forehead. And whilſt all around him were aſtoniſhed at ſo ſurpriſing a ſpectacle, the King declared, that the God of the Jews had appeared to him in Macedonia, in the ſame habit his high-prieſt wore, had encouraged him to croſs the Helleſpont, and aſſured him he would march at the head of his army, and ſecure him the conqueſt of the Perſian empire. Alexander, ſurrounded by the prieſts, entered Jeruſalem, went up into the temple, and offered ſacrifices to God in the manner the high-prieſt directed. He then ſhewed him the book of Daniel, in which it was written, that a Grecian Prince ſhould deſtroy the empire of the Perſians, which gave Alexander great ſatisfaction.

Though this were only a matter of bare curioſity, ſo agreeable and entertaining a piece of hiſtory, ſuch evident and ſurpriſing prophecies, might well deſerve to be related to youth. But how much may it turn to the ſervice of religion, to make them obſerve the wonderful harmony and connexion it has pleaſed God

[h] Joſeph. Hiſt. Jud. lib. 11. c. 8.

to

to place between the different predictions of the prophets, whereof ſome, as I have already taken notice, are of uſe to confirm the reſt, and all together form a degree of evidence and conviction, to which nothing can be added? And with this reflection I ſhall conclude this article concerning prophecies.

Reflection *upon the prophecies.*

If the prophets had only foretold events at a diſtance, mankind muſt have waited long, before they could know whether they were prophets or no, and they could have no authority during their lives.

If, on the other ſide, they had foretold only events, that were nigh at hand, they might have been ſuſpected of coming at the knowledge of them by natural means, and there might have ſeemed the leſs reaſon to believe, that they ſpoke by the Spirit of God.

And if there had been no connexion betwixt the near and remote events, by the predictions which were to be accompliſhed during the interval; the diſtance between the two extremes would have rendered their prophecies uſeleſs, the firſt being forgot, and the laſt not expected.

By the accompliſhment of the firſt the prophet acquired a juſt authority, and induced an expectation of the fulfilling of thoſe that followed. Theſe added to his authority an entire certainty, that his knowledge came from God, and that what was revealed with reference to the moſt diſtant times, would as infallibly come to paſs, as what had been foretold concerning times that were nearer. The publick monuments atteſted what was already fulfilled, the memory of it was handed down to the children; and theſe connecting what fell out in their days with what had fallen out in the times of their fathers, left to their poſterity a profound veneration for the prophets who had foretold it, and a firm confidence that all

that was contained in the reſt of their predictions would as certainly be accompliſhed.

Thus their books have deſervedly been looked upon as divinely inſpired. The proof was certain, and ſuited to the capacity of all mankind. They gave credit to what was to come from what they ſaw at preſent. They were perſuaded the revelation came from God, becauſe it was infallible, and paſſed all human underſtanding: and they would have made a quite contrary concluſion, if any of the events had not anſwered the prediction. "Hear now this word, "that I ſpeak in thine ears," [1] ſaid the prophet Jeremiah to a man that pretended to be ſent from God, "and in the ears of all the people. The pro-"phets, that have been before me and before thee of "old, propheſied both againſt many countries, and "againſt great kingdoms of war, and of evil, and "of peſtilence. The prophet, which propheſieth of "peace, when the word of the prophet ſhall come to "paſs, then ſhall the prophet be known, that the "Lord hath truly ſent him."

This then was their rule; a rule plain and eaſy, as capable of being applied with certainty by the common people as perſons of greater abilities, and wherein it was not poſſible for either to miſtake.

The little time their ordinary ſtudies leave youth, does not admit a great number of hiſtorical or prophetical facts to be explained to them in any great extent. But if a judicious choice was made of them, and they were put upon reading ſome every year, and theſe attended with reflections ſuited to their underſtandings, this ſmall number, in my opinion, might very much contribute to inſpire them with a great reverence for religion, give them a great taſte for the Holy Scriptures, and teach them in what ſpirit, and with what principles they ought to read them when they ſhall have leiſure.

[1] Jer. xxviii. 7, 8, 9.

PART the THIRD

Of Profane Hiſtory.

I SHALL follow the ſame order upon this as I have obſerved in treating ſacred hiſtory is, I ſhall firſt lay down ſome principles, whic be uſeful to direct youth in the ſtudy of profa tory; and afterwards apply them to ſome par facts by reflections annexed.

CHAP. I.

Rules and principles for the ſtudy of I Hiſtory.

THESE principles may be reduced to ſeven: To reduce this ſtudy to order a thod: To obſerve what relates to uſages and cu To enquire particularly and above all things a truth: To endeavour to find out the cauſes riſe and fall of empires, of the gaining or lo battles, and events of the like nature: To ſt character of the nations and great men menti hiſtory: To be attentive to ſuch inſtructions cern moral excellency and the conduct of life laſtly, carefully to note every thing that re religion.

SECT. I.

Order and method neceſſary for ſtudying hi advantage.

One thing, which may very much contribut bringing this ſtudy into order and method, is t

he whole body of an hiſtory into certain parts and ntervals, which at once preſent to the mind a kind of eneral plan of the whole hiſtory, point out the prin-ipal events, and ſhew us the ſeries and duration of hem. Theſe diviſions muſt not be too many, leſt hey throw us into confuſion and obſcurity.

Thus the whole time of the Roman hiſtory from Romulus to Auguſtus, which takes in ſeven hundred and twenty-three years, may be divided into five parts.

An. U. C. 1. The firſt is the reigns of the ſeven Kings of Rome, which laſted two hundred and forty-four yeras.

244. The ſecond is from the eſtabliſhment of the conſuls to the conqueſt of Rome, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It includes the eſtabliſhment of the conſuls, the tribunes of the people, the decemvirs, the military tribunes with conſular power, the ſiege and conqueſt of Veii.

364. The third is from the ſacking of Rome to the firſt Punick war, and takes in an hundred and twenty-four years. It includes the conqueſts of Rome by the Gauls, the wars with the Samnites, and againſt Pyrrhus.

An. U. C. 488. The fourth is from the beginning of the firſt to the end of the third Punick war, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It includes the firſt and ſecond Punick wars, the wars againſt Philip King of Macedon, Antiochus King of Aſia, Perſeus the laſt King of Macedon, the Numantines in Spain: And laſtly, the third Punick war, which ended with the conqueſt and deſtruction of Carthage.

608. The fifth is from the deſtruction of Carthage to the change of the Roman republick into a monarchy under Auguſtus, and takes in an hundred and fifteen years. It includes the war of Achaia, and the deſtruction of Corinth; the domeſtick troubles raiſed by the Gracchi, the wars againſt Jugurtha, the Allies, and Mithridates; the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Cæſar and Pompey, Anthony and Octavius.

This last war ended with the battle of Actium, (A. 723.) and the sovereign authority of Octa who afterwards was surnamed Augustus.

I have already observed, in treating sacred hist the use we should make of chronology; and forbear to repeat what I have already said upon subject.

Geography also is absolutely necessary for yo and for want of learning it when they are young, al dance of persons continue ignorant of it all the r their lives, and expose themselves to mistakes this article, which make them ridiculous. One ter of an hour regularly spent every day in this is enough to make them perfect in it. After the g ral principles are explained to them, they must be suffered to pass by any considerable town, or ar ver mentioned in their authors, without shewing places in the maps. They must learn likewise to out the situation of every city with reference to places that are spoke of. Thus they will say tha roux lies West of Paris, Chalons upon Marne East, Amiens on the North, and Orleans on the S They must trace the rivers from their source t place where they throw themselves into the se some greater river, and point out the considerable t that lie in their passage. When they are tole well instructed, they may be made to travel o map, or be taught by word of mouth, by asking for instance, what rout they would take to go Paris to Constantinople, and so of the other vinces. To render this study less dry and disa able, it would not be amiss to add to it certain stories, which may serve to fix an idea of the t more firmly in the minds of youth, and would them a great many curious matters as they wen There are to be found in several geographical tises, wrote in French; from which the masters easily extract such as they shall judge most p for youth.

SE

SECT. II.

To obſerve what relates to the laws, manners, and cuſtoms of countries.

'Tis of no ſmall conſequence, whilſt we are upon the ſtudy of hiſtory, to take notice of the different cuſtoms of countries, the invention of arts, the various manners of living, building, fighting, diſpoſing of ſieges, or defending towns, of building ſhips, and ſailing; the ceremonies of their marriages, funerals, and ſacrifices; in a word, whatever relates to cuſtoms and antiquity. I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of this hereafter.

What I have hitherto taken notice of is, if I may ſo ſay, but the ſkeleton of hiſtory, the obſervations I am going to make are in a manner the ſoul of it, and contain the moſt uſeful part of this ſtudy.

SECT. III.

Principally to enquire after truth.

That in which the moſt eſſential quality and moſt indiſpenſable duty of an hiſtorian conſiſts, points out at the ſame time what ſhould be the principal care of every reader of hiſtory. [q] No body is ignorant that an hiſtorian ſhould above all things preſcribe this rule to himſelf; To be free from all paſſion and prejudice; never to preſume to advance any falſhoods, and have always courage to ſpeak the truth. Negligences in his ſtile may be paſſed over, but want of ſincerity is inexcuſable; [r] and herein lies the difference between an

[q] Quis neſcit primam eſſe hiſtoriæ legem, ne quid falſi dicere audeat; deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua ſuſpicio gratiæ ſit in ſcribendo, ne qua ſimultatis. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 62.

[r] Intelligo te, frater, alias in hiſtoria leges obſervandas putaſ al

hiſtory and a poem. As the principal end of a
is to divert the reader, it neceſſarily ſhocks and o
him, if it wants art or elegance; whereas an hi
however written, is always ſure to give pleaſure
is true, as it ſatisfies a deſire natural to mankind,
are fond of knowing, and always curious to
ſomething new, but cannot bear to be put off
falſhood inſtead of truth, or idle imaginations fo
facts. Hence we ſee that hiſtorians, to gain
with their readers, generally begin with profeſſi
exact and ſcrupulous ſincerity, equally exempt
love and hatred, hope and fear, as may be partic
obſerved in Salluſt and Tacitus.

Truth therefore is to be ſought for in hiſtor
fore all things. Good writers juſtly endeavour t
der it more agreeable, by the elegance and emb
ments of language, and a judicious maſter wil
fail to point out all the graces and beauties of a
torian; but he will not ſuffer his ſcholars to be da
by a vain pomp of words, to prefer flowers to
be leſs attentive to truth herſelf than her dreſ
ſet a greater value upon the eloquence of an hiſt
than upon his exactneſs and fidelity in relating
Quintilian, in the character he draws of a Gree
torian, teaches us to diſtinguiſh thus in a few w
"The hiſtory of Clitarchus, ſays he, is valued
"ſtile, and deſpiſed for its want of veracity." *C*
ebi probatur ingenium, fides infamatur.

We muſt therefore caution youth to be upon
guard when they read ſuch hiſtories as were w
during the lives of the Princes of whom they tre
it ſeldom happens that they are dictated by
as the deſire of pleaſing him who diſtributes for
and honours may have had a ſhare in them. Th

alias in poëmate: quippe cùm in illa ad veritatem cuncta referantur, in hac ad delectationem plerasque. Cic. lib. 1 de leg. n. 4, 5.

Orationi & carmini eſt parva materia, niſi eloquentia ſit ſumma: hiſtoria quoquo modo ſcripta lectat. Sunt enim homines curioſi, & qualibet nuda cognitione capiuntur, ut e munculis etiam fabelliſq; cantur. Plin, Ep. 8. lib.

Pr

Princes are not always inſenſible to flattery, and there is a ſecret thirſt of praiſe and glory implanted in all mankind, that ought to render ſuch hiſtories ſuſpected. But if flattery makes an hiſtorian contemptible, detraction muſt make him odious. Both, as ſays [s] Tacitus, are equally injurious to truth; but with this difference, we eaſily defend ourſelves againſt the one, as it is hateful to all the world, and borders upon ſlavery; and we readily give way to the other, as it deceives us by a falſe image of liberty, and finds an agreeable admittance into the mind.

There are ſome hiſtorians, who, though very deſerving in other reſpects, through the bad taſte of the age they lived in, or too great credulity, have interſperſed abundance of fables in their writings, as [t] Tully obſerves of Herodotus and Theopompus.

Such, for inſtance, is what the firſt reports of the birth of Cyrus, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. We excuſe antiquity, [u] ſays Livy, for rather chuſing to give us ſtrange ſtories than true ones, and endeavouring to embelliſh and adorn the original of great towns and empires with ſuch fictions as are more ſuitable to fable than hiſtory. But we muſt accuſtom youth in reading ſuch ſort of authors, to diſtinguiſh between the true and falſe; and muſt alſo tell them that reaſon and equity require that they ſhould not reject all a writer ſays, becauſe ſome things are falſe, nor believe all he relates without exception, becauſe many things are true.

This love for truth, which ought to be inculcated as much as poſſible, may be of great ſervice to preſerve them from a bad taſte, which was formerly very prevalent, I mean, that for romances and fabulous tales, which by degrees extinguiſh the love and taſte

[s] Veritas pluribus modis infracta . . . . libidine aſſentandi, aut rurſus odio adverſus dominantes. . . . . Sed ambitionem ſcriptoris facile averſeris; obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. Tacit. Annal. lib. 1. cap. 1.

[t] Lib. 1. de Leg. n. 5.

[u] In Præf. lib. 1.

of truth, and make the mind incapable of attending to ſuch uſeful and ſerious lectures, as ſpeak more to the reaſon than the imagination.

It is the peculiar felicity of our age, that as ſoon as they were ſupplied either with the tranſlations of the famous writers of antiquity, or ſuch modern works as merited their application, they preſently abandoned all theſe fictions, and even rejected them with ſcorn; as being ſenſible, that nothing in reality could be a greater diſgrace to human reaſon, which was intended to be [w] nouriſhed with truth, than to feed upon the chimeras of an irregular imagination, and become the ſport of it, by following it through all its extravagancies. And if at any time ſome works of this nature have been ventured into the publick, to the glory of our times it may be ſaid, that they have ſoon fallen into oblivion, neglected by all men of ſenſe, and left to ſuch frivolous people, as could be ſo idly amuſed.

SECT. IV.

To endeavour to find out the cauſes of events.

[x] Polybius, who was as able at the pen as at the ſword, and was no leſs a good writer than an excellent general, takes notice in ſeveral places, that the beſt manner of writing and ſtudying hiſtory, is not to ſtop at the bare recital of facts, the gaining or loſing a battle, the riſe or fall of empires; but to ſearch into the reaſons, and join together all the circumſtances and conſequences of them; to diſtinguiſh, if poſſible, the ſecret deſigns and hidden ſprings in each event; to go back to the original of things, and the moſt diſtant preparations; to diſtinguiſh the real cauſes of a war, from the ſpecious pretences with which it is covered,

[w] Natura ineſt mentibus noſtris inſatiabilis quædam cupiditas veri videndi. Tuſc. quæſt. lib. 1. n. 44. Nihil eſt hominis menti veritatis luce dulcius. Acad. quæſt. lib. 4. n. 31.

[x] Polyb. hiſt. lib. 3.

and

and eſpecially to note what has decided the ſucceſs of an enterprize, the fate of a battle, and the ruin of a ſtate. Without this, [y] ſays he, hiſtory gives the reader an agreeable ſpectacle, but conveys no uſeful inſtruction; it ſerves to ſatisfy his curioſity for a moment, but is of no conſequence in the conduct of life.

He obſerves, that the war of the Romans in Aſia, againſt Antiochus, was the conſequence of that they had made before againſt Philip King of Macedon; that what gave occaſion to this, was the good ſucceſs of the ſecond Punick war; of which the principal cauſe, on the ſide of the Carthaginians, was the loſs of Sicily and Sardinia: That therefore to form a juſt idea of the different events of theſe wars, they muſt not be conſidered ſeparately and in parts, but viewed together, and their connexions, conſequences, and dependencies well examined.

He obſerves in the ſame place, that it would be a groſs miſtake to imagine that the conqueſt of Saguntum by Hannibal was the real cauſe of the ſecond Punick war. The regret of the Carthaginians for the too eaſy ceſſion of Sicily by the treaty which concluded the firſt Punick war; the injuſtice and violence of the Romans, who took an opportunity from the commotions in Africk to diſpoſſeſs the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and impoſe a new tribute upon them; and the ſucceſſes and conqueſts of the latter in Spain, were the real cauſes of the rupture of this treaty; as Livy ſuggeſts in a few words, therein following the plan of Polybius, [z] at the beginning of his hiſtory of the ſecond Punick war.

Polybius hence takes occaſion to lay down a very uſeful principle for the ſtudy of hiſtory, which is to diſtinguiſh exactly three things, the beginnings, the cauſes, and the pretexts of a war. The beginnings are the firſt ſteps that are openly taken, and are the

y Ἀγχίνοια μὲν, μάθημα δὲ ἡ παράπαν. γίγνεται· ἡ παραυτίκα μὲν τέρπει, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὠφέλειαν τὰ

z Liv. lib. 21. n. 1.

conſequences of reſolutions made in private; ſuch was the ſiege of Saguntum. The cauſes are the different diſpoſitions of mens minds, particular diſcontents, injuries received, and the hopes of ſucceſs; ſuch, in the fact we are ſpeaking of, were the loſs of Sicily and Sardinia joined to the impoſition of a new tribute, and the favourable opportunity of ſo able and experienced a general as Hannibal. The pretexts are only a vail thrown over the real cauſes.

He illuſtrates this principle ſtill farther by other examples. Can any one imagine, ſays he, that Alexander's irruption into Aſia was the firſt cauſe of the war againſt the Perſians? It was very far from it; and to be convinced of this, we need only conſider the long preparations that preceded this irruption, which was the beginning and declaration of the war, but not the cauſe of it. Two great events had given Philip cauſe to believe that the power of the Perſians, which was once ſo formidable, was tending to a declenſion; the glorious and triumphant return of the ten thouſand Greeks under the conduct of Xenophon, through the midſt of the enemies armies and fortreſſes, whilſt the victorious Artaxerxes did not dare to oppoſe the bold reſolution they had taken of marching in a body thro' his whole empire into their own country; and the generous undertaking of Ageſilaus King of Lacedæmon, who with an handful of men carried the war and terror into the heart of Aſia Minor, without finding any reſiſtance, and ſtopt only in his conqueſts by the diviſions of Greece. Philip comparing this negligence and ſupineneſs of the Perſians with the activity and courage of his Macedonians, animated with the hope of glory and the advantages he ſhould certainly reap from the war, after having united in his favour with incredible addreſs the opinions and ſuffrages of Greece, urged as the pretext of his invaſion, the ancient injuries the Greeks had received from the Perſians, and laboured with indefatigable application in making preparations for the war, which his ſon Alexander, who ſucceeded

ſucceeded to his project as well as his kingdom, happily employed to put them in execution. The weakneſs and negligence of the Perſians therefore were the real cauſe of the war, their former attempts upon the liberty of Greece the pretext, and Alexander's march into Aſia the beginning of it.

In like manner he traces the apparent pretexts and real cauſes of the war between the Romans and Antiochus.

[a] Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus lays down the ſame principles with Polybius. He declares in ſeveral places, that if we would derive the advantage from hiſtory, which may reaſonably be expected, and make it of uſe in the management of publick affairs, our curioſity muſt not be confined to facts and events; but we muſt enquire into the reaſons of them, ſtudy the means which make them ſucceed, enter into the views and deſigns of thoſe that conducted them, carefully examine the ſucceſs which God gave them, (remarkable words for an heathen author) and neglect none of the circumſtances, which had any important ſhare in the enterprizes in queſtion.

Can any man of curioſity and underſtanding, [b] ſays he in another place, be ſatisfied with knowing that in the war with Perſia the Athenians and Lacedæmonians gained three victories, two by ſea, and a third by land, and with an army of but an hundred and ten thouſand men at moſt, conquered the King of Perſia at the head of above three hundred thouſand? Will he not alſo deſire to know the places where theſe battles were fought, the cauſes which made the victory incline to the ſide of the leſſer number, and produced ſo ſurpriſing an event; the names and characters of the principal officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on both ſides; in a word, all the memorable circumſtances and conſequences of ſo conſiderable an action? For, adds he, it is a great pleaſure to a man of ſenſe and judgment, who reads an hiſtory written in this man-

[a] Dion. Halicarn. lib. 5. Antiq. Roman. [b] Lib. 11. Antiq. Roman.

ner, to be led as it were by the hand from the firſt entrance upon every action to the concluſion of it; and inſtead of being a bare reader, to become in a manner the witneſs and ſpectator of all that is told.

M. Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, [c] obſerves likewiſe in his diſcourſe upon univerſal hiſtory, that we muſt not only conſider the riſe and fall of empires, but muſt alſo examine thoroughly the cauſes of their progreſs, and the reaſons of their declenſion. "For, ſays he, "the ſame God, who has hung the world together as "it were upon chains, and Almighty as he is, hath "thought fit for the eſtabliſhment of order, that the "ſeveral parts of this great whole ſhould depend upon "one another; the ſame God has been pleaſed, ſo to "direct the courſe of human affairs, as to have their "dependencies and proportions. I mean, that men "and nations have had qualities ſuited to the eleva-"tion for which they were deſigned; and except "in ſome extraordinary caſes, wherein God thought "fit that only his own hand ſhould appear, there "have happened no great alterations, which have not "had their cauſes in the preceding ages. And as in "all affairs there is ſomething that makes way for "them, that determines to the undertaking of them, "and makes them ſucceed, the true knowledge of hiſ-"tory is to obſerve at all times the ſecret diſpoſitions, "which made way for great changes, and the impor-"tant conjunctures which brought them to paſs. In "ſhort, it is not enough to ſee only what is before "our eyes, I mean, to take a preſent view of the "great events which in an inſtant determine the fate "of empires: Whoever would thoroughly underſtand "human affairs, muſt go farther back, and obſerve "the prevailing inclinations and manners, or to ſay "all in a word, the character both of the people in "general, and of Princes in particular; and laſtly, "of all the extraordinary perſons, who through the "importance of the ſtation they bore in the world,

[c] Chap. i.

"have

"have contributed well or ill to the revolutions of "ſtates and fortune of the publick."

This laſt reflection naturally leads us to what I have ſaid we muſt in the fifth place take notice of in ſtudying hiſtory.

SECT. V.

To ſtudy the character of the people and great men mentioned in hiſtory.

For what regards the character of nations, I cannot do better than refer the reader to the remarks M. Boſſuet has made upon that ſubject in the ſecond part of his diſcourſe upon univerſal hiſtory. That work is one of the moſt admirable performances that has appeared in our age, not only for the beauty and ſublimity of ſtile, but ſtill more for the greatneſs of the topicks, the ſolidity of the reflections, the profound knowledge of mankind, and its large extent, as it takes in all ages and all empires. We ſee there, with infinite pleaſure, all the nations of the world paſs in a kind of review before our eyes, with their good and evil diſpoſitions, their manners, cuſtoms, and different inclinations; Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Perſians, Medes, Greeks, and Romans. We there ſee all the kingdoms of the world riſing as it were out of the earth, gradually growing powerful by almoſt an inſenſible increaſe, extending at laſt their conqueſts on every ſide, arriving by different means at the height of human greatneſs, and falling at once from that height by ſudden revolutions, and loſt, as I may ſay, and ſunk into that nothing from whence they ſprung. But what is ſtill more worthy our attention, we find in the manners themſelves of the ſeveral nations, in their characters, virtues and vices, the cauſes of their grandeur and deſtruction. We learn there, not only to diſcover the ſecret and hidden ſources of human politicks, which give motion to all actions and enterprizes; but

but to diſcern withal a ſovereign Being, watching and preſiding over all, directing and conducting every event, and diſpoſing and abſolutely deciding the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the word. I cannot therefore too much exhort thoſe, who are entruſted with the education of youth, to read and ſtudy this excellent book with attention, which is ſo capable of forming at once both the underſtanding and the heart; and, after they have ſtudied it well themſelves, to endeavour to inſpire their pupils with a taſte for it.

What I have ſaid of nations, may alſo be underſtood of the great and illuſtrious men, who have been diſtinguiſhed for the good or ill they have wrought in ſtates. We muſt diligently apply ourſelves to ſtudy their genius, natural inclinations, virtues, faults, particular and perſonal qualifications, in a word, that peculiar turn of mind and courſe of conduct that prevails in them, and forms their character; for that is properly to know them. Otherwiſe we ſee only the ſurface and outſide of them; and men are not to be known and judged only by their dreſs and countenances.

Neither muſt we expect to know them principally from ſuch of their actions, as make the moſt glorious figure. When they ſet themſelves up to publick view, they may diſſemble and lie under a reſtraint, by aſſuming for a time the viſage and maſk, which ſuits beſt with the character they are to ſupport. They ſhew themſelves what they are, in private, in the cloſet, and at home, when they are unreſerved, and without diſguiſe. 'Tis there they act and talk, as nature dictates. It is in this manner we ſhould chiefly ſtudy great men, if we would paſs a right judgment upon them; and it is the inеſtimable advantage we find in Plutarch, and that wherein he may be ſaid to excel all other hiſtorians. In the lives he has left us of the illuſtrious men among the Greeks and Romans, he deſcends to particulars, which give us infinite pleaſure. He is not ſatisfied with ſhewing us the general, the

conqueror, the ſtateſman, the magiſtrate, or the orator; he lays open the inſide of the houſe to his readers, or rather the heart of the perſons he ſpeaks of, and lets us ſee in them the father, the huſband, the maſter, and the friend. We ſeem to live and diſcourſe with them, to ſhare in their amuſements and diverſions, to aſſiſt at their meals and in their converſations. Tully ſays ſomewhere, that he could not take one ſtep in Athens, and the neighbouring places, without meeting with ſome ancient monument of hiſtory, which awakened the remembrance of the great men, who formerly lived there, and in ſome meaſure ſet them before his eyes. Here a was garden where the footſteps of Plato ſeemed ſtill to remain, here he uſed to walk and diſcourſe of the graveſt points in philoſophy; there was the place of the publick aſſemblies, where Æſchines and Demoſthenes ſeem ſtill to plead againſt each other; and one would imagine the voice of the Greek orator was ſtill to be heard on the ſhore, where he learned to overcome the tumultuous noiſe of publick meetings by ſurmounting that of the waves. The reading the lives of Plutarch ſeems in my opinion to produce a like effect, by rendering the great men he ſpeaks of in a manner preſent, and giving us as lively an idea of their cuſtoms and manners, as if we had lived and converſed with them. We know more of the genius, ſpirit, and character of Alexander from Plutarch's very ſhort abridgment of it, than from the very long and particular hiſtories of Quintus Curtius and Arrian.

This exact knowledge of the characters of great men makes an eſſential part of hiſtory; and it is for this reaſon that good hiſtorians are uſually careful to

d Quacunque ingredimur, in aliquam hiſtoriam veſtigium ponimus. Uſu autem evenit, ut acriùs aliquanto & attentiùs de claris viris, locorum admonitu, cogitemus . . . velut ego nunc moveor. Venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem accepimus primùm hîc (in academia) diſputare ſolitum: cujus etiam illi hortuli propinqui non memoriam ſolum mihi afferunt, ſed ipſum videntur in conſpectu meo hîc ponere, &c. Lib. 5. de finib. n. 4, &c.

give

give an expreſs and general idea of the good or ill qualities of the principal perſons they ſpeak of. Of this kind are the characters of Catiline, Marius, and Sylla in Salluſt; of Furius Camillus, Hannibal, and a great many others in Livy.

'Tis by ſtudying attentively the prevailing diſpoſitions both of nations in general, and their commanders in particular, that we are able to form a judgment of their deſigns, actions, and enterprizes, and may even foretel the conſequence. Philopemen, an officer of excellent underſtanding, obſerving on the one hand the careleſſneſs and negligence of Antiochus, who was amuſing himſelf at feaſts and weddings, and on the other the diligence and indefatigable activity of the Romans, made no difficulty of foretelling on which ſide the victory would fall. Polybius is very careful, by the wiſe reflections he makes in ſeveral parts of his hiſtory, to excite the attention of the reader to take notice of the perſonal qualifications of the great men he writes of, and to obſerve that the Roman conqueſts were the effects of ſchemes concerted at a diſtance, and conducted by ſuch means, as with the abilities of their generals could ſcarce poſſibly fail of ſucceſs. 'Twas from this profound ſtudy of the genius and character of mankind, from a thorough enquiry into the nature and conſtitution of the different kinds of government, and the natural cauſes which in courſe of time change the form of them; and laſtly, by ſerious reflections upon the preſent ſtate of affairs and diſpoſition of men's minds, that the ſame hiſtorian in the ſixth book of his hiſtory, has carried the ſagacity of his conjectures and foreſight ſo far as to declare, that ſooner or later the Republick of Rome would again be changed into a monarchical government. When I come to ſpeak of the Roman hiſtory, I ſhall give an extract and ſummary of this paſſage of Polybius, which is one of the moſt curious and remarkable of all antiquity.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

To obſerve in hiſtory what relates to morality and the conduct of life.

The obſervations I have already mentioned are not the only one to be to made, nor the moſt eſſential; ſuch as relate to the regulation of manners are ſtill more important. "The greateſt advantage," ſays Livy in his excellent preface, "ariſing from the "knowledge of hiſtory is, that you may ſee there "examples of every kind ſet in the cleareſt light. "You have patterns for your imitation both in your "own private conduct, and in the adminiſtration "of publick affairs; you find there alſo ſuch ac- "tions as flow from corrupt principles, fatal in their "event, and for that reaſon to be avoided." *Hoc illud eſt præcipuè in cognitione rerum ſalubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitere, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.*

The caſe is nearly the ſame with the ſtudy of hiſtory as with travelling. [a] If it is confined barely to the paſſing over countries, the viſiting of cities, the examining the beauty and magnificence of the buildings and publick monuments, where is the mighty advantage attending it? Does it make a man wiſer, more regular, or temperate? Does it remove his prejudices, or correct his errors? The novelty and variety of theſe objects may amuſe him for a time, like a child, and he may gaze upon them with a ſtupid admiration. But if this is all, it is not to travel, but wander, and to loſe both his time and trouble. *Non eſt hoc peregrinari, ſed errare.* 'Tis ſaid of Ulyſſes, that he viſited abundance of cities; but not till after it had been

[a] Senec. Epiſt. 41a.

obſerved

obſerved, that he applied himſelf to ſtudy the manners and genius of the people.

[f] *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.*

The ancients made long and frequent voyages; but it was with a view to inſtruct, to viſit mankind, and improve from their wiſdom and knowledge.

Such is the uſe we ought to make of hiſtory. We ſtand in need of inſtructions and examples to induce us to the practice of virtue amidſt the dangers and obſtacles which ſurround it; and hiſtory ſupplies us with theſe of every kind. 'Tis thence the ſentiments of honour and probity are derived; [g] *Hinc mihi ille juſtitiæ hauſtus bibat.* We muſt carefully ſtudy the actions and ſpeeches of the great men of antiquity, and make it our buſineſs ſeriouſly to digeſt them.

[h] When Tully endeavours to incline his brother Quintus to kindneſs and moderation, he puts him in mind of what he had read in Xenophon concerning Cyrus and Ageſilaus. [i] He tells us it was the uſe he himſelf made of what he had read in his youth, and hiſtory had taught him to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, and deſpiſe all dangers for the ſervice of his country. "How many models of virtue, ſays he, "are left us by the Greek and Latin writers, which "are not laid before us only to be looked on, but to "be imitated? And by ſtudying them inceſſantly, "and endeavouring to copy after them in the ma-"nagement of publick affairs, have I formed my "mind and heart, upon the idea of thoſe great men, "whoſe pictures are ſo admirably drawn in their "writings." *Quam multas nobis imagines, non ſolum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortiſſimorum virorum expreſſas ſcriptores & Græci & Latini reliquerunt? quas ego mihi ſemper in adminiſtrandâ re-*

f Horat. de Arte Poet.
g Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 2.
h Epiſt. 2. ad Quint.
i Pro Arch. Poet. n. 14.

publicâ

i proponens, animum & mentem meam ipſâ cogi- : hominum excellentium confirmabam!

: muſt therefore in teaching youth hiſtory, be :areful to make them derive from it one of its pal advantages, which is the regulation of their ers, and to th s end we muſt from time to time luce ſhort reflections; aſk them their own judg- upon the actions they read; accuſtom them eſ- ly not to ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by a utward ſhew, but to judge univerſally according : principles of equity, truth and juſtice; and n them an admiration for the modeſty, fruga- generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and love for the ck good, which prevailed in the happy times of reek and Roman republicks. When youth are :imely modelled, and accuſtomed from their in- by the ſtudy of hiſtory to admire examples of :, and abhor vice, we may hope that theſe early aſſiſted by a ſuperior aid, without which they l ſoon miſcarry, may in due time bring forth fruit; and that ſomething might happen to them /hat is told of a ſcholar of Plato's, whom the ſopher had trained up with great care in his own . When he returned home, and ſaw his father out into in a violent tranſport of paſſion, he ſtood aze, "I never ſaw any thing like this, ſays he, Plato's." *Apud Platonem educatus puer, cum ad :es relatus vociferantem videret patrem: Nunquam, , hoc apud Platonem vidi.*

SECT. VII.

fully to obſerve every thing that relates to religion.

ave one obſervation more to make upon the ſtudy ſtory, which conſiſts in carefully obſerving what- elates to religion, and the great truths which are arily dependent upon it. For amidſt the con- chaos of ridiculous opinions, abſurd ceremonies, impious

impious ſacrifices, and deteſtable principles, which idolatry, the daughter and mother of ignorance and corruption of heart, has brought forth to the reproach of human reaſon and underſtanding, there are ſtill to be diſcerned ſome precious remains of almoſt all the fundamental truths of our holy religion. We find in it particularly the exiſtence of a Being ſupreme in power, and ſupremely juſt, the abſolute Lord of Kings and Kingdoms, whoſe Providence rules all the events of this life, whoſe juſtice prepares for the next the rewards and chaſtiſements that are due to the righteous and the wicked; and laſtly, whoſe all-piercing eye ſees into the inmoſt receſſes of our ſouls, and fills them with trouble and confuſion, whether we will or no. But as I have already treated of this ſubject more at large in the preliminary diſcourſe prefixed to the firſt volume, I ſhall dwell no longer upon it here.

Theſe, in my opinion, are the principal obſervations youths ſhould be directed to make, whilſt they are ſtudying hiſtory, taking care at the ſame time to proportion them to their age and capacity, and never propoſing any reflections to them they are not capable of comprehending. I ſhall now proceed to apply theſe general principles to particular examples, in the cleareſt and moſt intelligible manner in my power.

CHAP. II.

The application of the foregoing rules to ſome particular facts in hiſtory.

IN making the application of the principles I have here laid down, I ſhall ſelect, firſt from the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, and then from that of the Romans, certain portions and particular facts, to which I ſhall add ſome reflections.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks.

THE firſt piece taken from the hiſtory of the Perſians.

CYRUS.

I ſhall divide what I have to ſay concerning Cyrus into three parts; his education; his firſt expeditions; the taking of Babylon, and his conqueſts. I ſhall relate only the moſt important circumſtances of theſe events, and ſuch as appear to me moſt proper for the inſtruction of youth. Theſe I ſhall extract from Xenophon, whom I take here for my guide, as the author moſt worthy of credit upon this article.

I. *The education of Cyrus.* Cyrop. lib. I.

Cyrus was the ſon of Cambyſes, King of Perſia, and Mandane the daughter of Aſtyages King of the Medes. [k] He was beautiful in his perſon, but far more eſtimable for the excellent endowments of his mind. He was exceeding courteous and humane, deſirous of learning, and ardent for glory. He never feared any danger, nor ſhunned any labour, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up after the cuſtom of the Perſians, which at that time was admirable.

The publick good and general utility was the principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was conſidered as the moſt important duty and eſſential part of the government. The care of it was not entruſted to fathers and mothers, whom a blind and tender indulgence often rendered incapable

k Εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος, φιλομαθέστατος, καὶ φιλοτιμότατος.

of

of it; the ſtate charged itſelf with it. They were brought up together, and in the ſame manner. They did nothing but by rule; the place and duration of their exerciſes were fixed, the time of their meals, the quality of what they were to eat and drink, the number of their maſters, and the different kinds of correction. Their whole food, as well for children as young men, was bread, and creſſes, and water; for their view was to habituate them early to temperance and ſobriety; and beſides, this ſort of ſimple and frugal food, without any mixture of ſauces and ragouts, ſtrengthened their bodies, and laid a foundation of health capable of ſupporting the ſevereſt fatigues of war till they grew old, [1] as is obſerved of Cyrus, who found himſelf as ſtrong and robuſt in his old age, as he was in his youth. They learnt juſtice in ſchools, as in other places they do literature; and ingratitude was the crime they puniſhed moſt ſeverely.

The view of the Perſians in all theſe wiſe inſtitutions was to be beforehand with evil, as they were perſuaded that it was better to prevent faults than puniſh them; and whereas in other nations they were contented with inflicting puniſhments upon criminals, the Perſians endeavoured in a manner to hinder there being any criminals amongſt them.

They continued in the claſs of children till they were ſixteen or ſeventeen years old; they then entered the claſs of youths. They were then laid under the greateſt reſtraints, as that age ſtood moſt in need of them. They ſpent ten years in this claſs. During this interval, they were every night upon guard, as well for the ſecurity of the city, as to enure them to fatigue. In the day-time they went to receive orders from their governors, attended the King when he went a hunting, or applied themſelves to their exerciſes.

The third claſs was formed of men grown, and there they continued five and twenty years. From hence were taken all the officers, that were to command

[1] Cyrus non fuit imbecillior in ſenectute, quam in juventute. Cic. de ſenect. n. 30.

in

in the troops, and fill the different poſts, employments, and dignities of the ſtate. And hence they paſſed into the laſt claſs, from whence the wiſeſt and moſt experienced were choſen to form the publick council.

By theſe means every citizen might aſpire to the firſt offices of the ſtate; but none could arrive at them, till they had paſſed through theſe different claſſes, and became capable of them by all theſe exerciſes.

Cyrus was brought up in this manner till he was twelve years old, and always excelled his equals, both in facility of learning, in courage, and dexterity in executing whatever he undertook. His mother Mandane then carried him into Media to viſit his grandfather Aſtyages, who had heard ſo much of the fame of this young Prince, that he was very deſirous of ſeeing him. He found the manners of the Median court very different from thoſe of his own country. Pomp, luxury, and magnificence univerſally prevailed. He was not at all dazzled with it, and without criticiſing or condemning it, he ſtood firm to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his wit and vivacity, and gained all hearts by his noble and engaging carriage, of which I ſhall relate a ſingle inſtance, from which we may form a judgment of the reſt.

Aſtyages, to make his grandſon think no more of returning to his own country, prepared a ſumptuous entertainment, in which he ſpared for no expence, either as to the quantity, or the quality and delicacy of meats. Cyrus looked upon all theſe preparations with a great deal of indifference. And as Aſtyages ſeemed very much ſurpriſed at it; The Perſians, ſays he, inſtead of ſo many turnings and windings to ſatisfy their hunger, take a much ſhorter way to the ſame end; a little bread and creſſes will do it at any time. His grandfather giving him leave to diſpoſe of the diſhes that were ſerved up as he thought fit, he diſtributed them immediately among ſuch of the King's officers as were preſent; to one he gave, becauſe he taught

him

him to ride; to another, becauſe he ſerved Aſtyages well; to a third, becauſe he was very careful of his mother. Sacas, Aſtyages's cup-bearer, was the only perſon to whom he gave nothing. This officer, beſides his place of cup-bearer, had the poſt of introducing ſuch as were to have an audience of the King; and as it was not poſſible for him to grant this favour to Cyrus as often as he required it, he had the misfortune to diſpleaſe the young Prince, who expreſſed his reſentment upon this occaſion. Aſtyages ſeemed uneaſy that he had offered this affront to an officer, for whom he had a particular eſteem, and who deſerved it for his wonderful addreſs in diſcharging his office; "And is that enough, papa, anſwers Cyrus, to merit "your favour? then I ſhould ſoon have obtained it, for "I'll anſwer for it, I can ſerve you better than he." The little Cyrus was immediately equipped in the habit of cup-bearer. He advanced gravely with a ſerious air, and a napkin thrown over his ſhoulder, and holding the cup nicely on three of his fingers, he preſented it to the King with a dexterity and grace, that charmed Aſtyages and Mandane. When this was done, he threw his arms around his grandfather's neck and kiſſing him, cried out with great joy, "O Sacas, "poor Sacas, thou art undone, I ſhall have thy place." Aſtyages was mightily pleaſed with him; "And well, "ſays he, my boy, thou ſhalt have it; no body can "ſerve me better. But you have forgot one part of "the ceremony, which is to taſte of it before you "give it." It was it ſeems the cuſtom for the cup-bearer to pour out a little of the liquor into his left hand, and taſte it, before he preſented the cup to the King. "'Twas not through forgetfulneſs, anſwered "Cyrus, that I did not do ſo." "What then? ſays "Aſtyages." "'Twas becauſe I apprehended the li-"quor to be poiſon." "Poiſon! how ſo?" "Yes "indeed, papa; for it is not long ſince I took no-"tice, at an entertainment you gave the lords of "your court, that after they had drank a little of

that liquor, all their heads were turned. They bawled and ſung, and talked like madmen. You yourſelf ſeemed to have forgot that you were King, and they that they were your ſubjects. At laſt, when you got up to dance, you could not ſtand without ſtaggering." "How, replies Aſtyages, 'does not the ſame thing happen to your father?" 'Never, anſwered Cyrus." "How then?" "Why, 'when he has drank, he is no longer thirſty, and "that's all."

His mother Mandane being upon the point of returning into Perſia, he chearfully complied with the repeated inſtances of his grandfather to continue in Media, becauſe he ſaid, as he did not ride well enough yet, he might have time to perfect himſelf in that exerciſe, which was not practiſed in Perſia, the drineſs of the ſoil and mountainous ſituation of the country not admitting the breeding of horſes.

During this interval that he paſſed at court, he gained the eſteem and love of all mankind. He was mild, affable, obliging, good-natured, and liberal. If the young lords had any favour to beg of the King, he ſolicited it for them. If there was any cauſe of complaint againſt them, he was their mediator with the King. He made their buſineſs his own, and managed ſo well, that he always obtained what he deſired.

Cambyſes recalling Cyrus to complete the time allotted for the finiſhing of his exerciſes in Perſia, he immediately ſet forward on his journey, that his delay might neither give his father, nor his country, any cauſe to complain of him. It then appeared how tenderly he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all the world; thoſe of his own age, young men and old, all attended him. Aſtyages went with him on horſeback a conſiderable way; and when he was obliged to take his leave, the whole company broke out into tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into Perſia, where h
tinued one year more in the claſs of children
companions expected to find a great alteration
manners, after having ſpent ſo much time in
luptuous and ſplendid a court as that of Medi
when they ſaw he was contented with their o
table, and upon days of feaſting was more ſo
reſerved than any of them, they looked up
with new admiration.

He paſſed from this firſt claſs into the ſecond
is that of the young men; where he ſhewed
had not his equal in addreſs, patience, and ob

Reflections.

I ſhall not attempt to make any reflections u
preceding ſtory; they offer themſelves in ab
to the reader, and cannot eſcape the view
moſt dim-ſighted. We ſee here how muc
culine, robuſt, and vigorous education con
at the ſame time to ſtrengthen the body,
large the mind; and that the beſt means fo
gentlemen of quality to acquire eſteem
fection, is not by aſſuming airs of grand
by a civil and obliging deportment. I can
take notice how artfully the hiſtorian ha
duced the excellent lecture he has given
drunkenneſs. He might have done it in a g
ſerious manner, and with the air of a phil
for Xenophon, as much a ſoldier as he w
no leſs a philoſopher than Socrates his maſt
ſtead of this, he puts it into the mouth of
and diſguiſes it under the vail of a little ſtory;
the original with all the ſpirit and prettineſs
nable. I don't doubt, but it is wholly his ow
tion; and it is in this ſenſe, in my opinion, w
underſtand what [1] Tully ſays of this admirabl
That the author has not pretended to follow

[1] *Ad Qu. Fratr. lib. 1. Ep. 1.*

ules of truth and hiſtory, but deſigned to give Princes in the perſon of Cyrus a perfect model of the manner in which they ought to govern their ſubjects. *Cyrus ille à Xenophonte non ad fidem hiſtoriæ ſcriptus, ſed ad effigiem juſti imperii.* That is, he has added to the ſubſtance of the hiſtory, which is very true in itſelf, as I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to obſerve, ſome particular circumſtances, to exalt its beauty, and ſerve for the inſtruction of mankind. Such is, in my opinion, the hiſtory of the little Cyrus turned cup-bearer, which ſhews how diſhonourable drunkenneſs is to Princes, far better than all the precepts of philoſophers.

II. *The firſt expeditions and conqueſts of Cyrus.* Cyrop. lib. 1, &c.

Aſtyages King of the Medes being dead, his ſon Cyaxares, brother to Mandane the mother of Cyrus, ſucceeded him. He was ſcarce ſettled upon the throne, before he found himſelf engaged in a terrible war. He received advice that the King of the Aſſyrians was raiſing a powerful army againſt him, that he had already drawn over ſeveral other Princes to eſpouſe his quarrel, and among the reſt Crœſus King of Lydia. He immediately diſpatched an embaſſy to Cambyſes to demand his aſſiſtance, with orders to deſire that Cyrus might have the command of the army that ſhould be ſent to his aid. They obtained their requeſt without much difficulty. The young Prince was then in the claſs of men grown, after having paſſed ten years in the ſecond. The joy was univerſal, when it was known that Cyrus was marching at the head of the army. It conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, for the Perſians had then no horſe; beſides a thouſand young officers, the choice of the nation, who marched as volunteers from a particular attachment they had to the perſon of Cyrus.

He ſet forward, without loſing any time, but not till after he had invoked the aſſiſtance of the Gods.

For his great principle, which he learnt from ther, was never to enter upon any action, great or ſmall, without firſt conſulting the Cambyſes had often repreſented to him, that prudence was very ſhort-ſighted, and the vi men confined within narrow bounds; that they not penetrate into futurity, and what they thought was moſt for their advantage, becam cauſe of their deſtruction; whereas the Gods eternal, know all things, the future as well a paſt, and [m] inſpire thoſe they love with what is proper for them to undertake; a protection they to none, and grant only to ſuch as call upon t and conſult them.

Cambyſes was pleaſed to accompany his ſon as as the frontiers of Perſia. By the way he gave h excellent inſtructions upon the duties of the general an army. I have already obſerved, in another plac that Cyrus, who thought he was a perfect maſter i the trade of war, after having ſtudied it ſo long unde the moſt experienced officers of his time, owned then that he was abſolutely ignorant of the moſt eſſential part of the art military, till he had learnt it from this familar diſcourſe, which deſerves to be carefully read, and ſeriouſly conſidered by all perſons deſigned for the profeſſion of arms. I ſhall mention but one inſtance, from whence we may judge of the reſt.

The point was, how to make the ſoldiers ſubmiſſive and obedient. The eaſieſt and ſureſt method, in my opinion, ſays Cyrus, is to commend and reward the obedient, and to puniſh and diſgrace the diſobedient. That's right, anſwered Cambyſes, if you would bring them to it by force; but the buſineſs is, how to make them ſubmit voluntarily. Now the ſureſt way of ſucceeding herein, is to convince thoſe over whom we command, that we know better what is fit for them

[m] They imputed every branch of their ſucceſs to divine providence, even what they caught in hunting. Venatio nobis hæc, amici, ſays Cyrus, volente Deo proſpera futura eſt. Cyrop. lib. 1. than

n they do themſelves; for all mankind will readily
y thoſe, of whom they have this opinion. From
principle ariſes the blind ſubmiſſion, which the ſick
to their phyſician, travellers to their guide, and
-faring men to the pilot. Their obedience is wholly
nded upon a perſuaſion, that the phyſician, the
de, and the pilot know more of the matter than
mſelves. But what muſt we do, ſays Cyrus again
is father, to appear more able and prudent than
ers? By being really ſo, replies Cambyſes; and
his end applying diligently to our profeſſion, ſe-
ſly ſtudying all the rules of it, conſulting the
eſt maſters with docility and care, neglecting no-
ng which may make our enterprizes ſucceed;
above all imploring the aſſiſtance of the Gods,
o alone give prudence and ſucceſs.

When Cyrus was arrived in Media and with Cyax-
s, the firſt thing he did, after the uſual compliments,
to inform himſelf of the quality and number of
troops on both ſides. He found, by the liſt that
given in, that the enemy's army amounted to ſixty
uſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot, and
ſequently that their horſe were two thirds more
n thoſe of the Medes and Perſians together, and
t the latter had ſcarce half their foot. So great an
quality threw Cyaxares into great terror and con-
on. He could not think of any other expedient
n the drawing freſh troops out of Perſia, and in
ater number than before. But beſides that this re-
ly would have been very ſlow, it ſeemed impracti-
. Cyrus immediately propoſed a ſurer and ſhorter
hod; and this was to change the arms of the Per-
s; and as moſt of them uſed only the bow and the
lin, and conſequently fought only at a diſtance,
which way of fighting the greater number eaſily
ried it over the ſmaller, he thought it adviſeable to
them in ſuch a manner, that they might come
nediately to cloſe fight with the enemy, and there-
render the multitude of their troops unſerviceable.

would be magnificently dreſſed in preſence of
dians, for the honour of the nation. Cyru
time, but ſet forward immediately with his t
attend upon the King," without putting on a
habit than his own; and as Cyaxares at firſ
ſomewhat diſpleaſed at it, Should I have d
more honour, replies Cyrus, by clothing m
purple, and putting on a load of bracelets :
chains, if with all this I had tarried longer
came, than I now do you by the ſwear of n
and my diligence, in letting all the world
what readineſs your orders are executed?

Cyrus's great care was to engage the affecti
troops, to gain the inclination of the officers,
quire the love and eſteem of the ſoldiers. To
he treated them all with gentleneſs and good
made himſelf popular and affable, invited the
to dine with him, and eſpecially thoſe who w
tinguiſhed amongſt the troops. He valued
only for the ſake of diſtributing it. He gave
liberally to every one according to his merit a
dition; to one a buckler, to another a ſword,
thing of a like nature. He thought a genera

y. They therefore began their march, after they id offered ſacrifices to the Gods. When the armies ere in ſight of each other, they prepared for the batе. The Aſſyrians were encamped in the open plain; yrus on the other hand was covered by ſome villages, nd ſmall eminences. They ſpent ſome days in looking upon one another. At laſt the Aſſyrians came firſt ut of their camp in very great numbers, and Cyrus dvanced with his troops. Before they came within a bow-ſhot, he gave the word of command, which was, *Jupiter the helper and conductor.* He cauſed the uſual hymn to be ſung in honour of Caſtor and Pollux, and the ſoldiers full of religious ardour (θεοσεβῶς) made the reſponſes with a loud voice. ° In the whole army of Cyrus nothing was to be diſcerned but chearfulneſs, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations, prudence, and obedience, which caſt a ſtrange terror into the hearts of the enemies. For, ſays the hiſtorian here, it was obſerved, that thoſe who moſt feared the Gods upon theſe occaſions were the leaſt afraid of men. The Aſſyrian archers, ſlingers, and darters of javelins, made their diſcharges before the enemy was within reach. But the Perſians, encouraged by the preſence and example of Cyrus, came at once to a cloſe engagement, and broke the firſt battalions. The Aſſyrians could not ſuſtain ſo rude a ſhock, and took all to their heels. The Median horſe moved forward at the ſame time to fall upon that of the enemy, who were alſo ſoon routed. They were briſkly purſued, as far as their camp. The ſlaughter was terrible, and the Aſſyrian King loſt his life in the field. Cyrus did not think himſelf in a condition to force them in their entrenchments, and ſounded a retreat.

The Aſſyrians in the mean while, their King ſlain, and the braveſt men in the army loſt, were in a ſtrange

° Ἦν δὲ μεγὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ῥώμης, θάρσους, παρακελευσμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πειθοῦς . . . ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἧττον τοῦς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται.

it, and repreſented to him the danger there wa
ing ſo powerful an enemy to extremes, wh
perhaps be inſpired with courage by being
deſpair; that it was prudent to uſe good for
moderation, and not to loſe the fruit of a v
too much eagerneſs; that beſides, he was un
compel the Medes, or prevent them from t
repoſe they had ſo juſtly deſerved. Cyrus
fired leave only to carry ſuch with him, as v
ing to follow him, and got the conſent of
with great difficulty, who had no thought b
ſing his time in feaſting and rejoicing with hi
for the victory he had ſo lately gained.

Almoſt all the Medes followed Cyrus, w
his march in purſuit of the enemy. He m
way couriers from the Hyrcanians, who ſer
enemy's army, to tell him, that as ſoon as h
ed, they were ready to ſubmit to him, and
they did ſo. He loſt no time, but marching
came up with the Aſſyrians. Crœſus had
wives before in the cool of the evening, f
then ſummer, and was following after them v
horſe. The Aſſyrians were in the utmoſt c

and Hyrcanians were returned from purſuing the enemy, he made them partake of a repaſt he had prepared for them, bidding them ſend only ſome bread to the Perſians, who had every thing elſe that was neceſſary for them both as to delicacy and drink. Their ſauce was hunger, and their drink the water from the river. This was the manner of living, to which they had been accuſtomed from their infancy.

Cyaxares had paſſed the night, that Cyrus ſpent in purſuit of the enemy, in joy and feaſting, and had got drunk with his principal officers. When he awaked the next morning, he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf left almoſt alone. Full of rage and indignation, he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus, and make the Medes return directly. Cyrus was under no concern at ſo unjuſt a command. He wrote back a reſpectful letter, but with a generous freedom, in which he juſtified his conduct, and reminded him of the leave he had granted to all the Medes that were willing to follow him. He ſent at the ſame time into Perſia for freſh troops, deſigning to extend his conqueſts ſtill farther.

Among the priſoners of war was a young Princeſs of exquiſite beauty, reſerved for Cyrus. She was named Panthea, and was wife to Abradates King of Suſiana. Upon the report of her beauty, Cyrus refuſed to ſee her, apprehending, as he ſaid, leſt ſuch an object ſhould engage his affection too much, and divert him from the great deſigns he had formed. Araſpes, a young Median lord, in whoſe cuſtody ſhe had been, did not ſuſpect his own weakneſs ſo much, and affirmed that a man was always maſter of himſelf. Cyrus gave him prudent advice, and put the Princeſs again into his hands. Fear not, replies Araſpes, I am ſecure of myſelf, and will lay my life on't that I do nothing contrary to my duty. However, his paſſion for the Princeſs increaſed by little and little to ſuch a degree, that finding her invincibly averſe to his deſires,

he was upon the point of offering her violence. The Princeſs made her complaints to Cyrus, who preſently ſent Artabazus to expoſtulate in his name with Araſpes. This officer chid him with the utmoſt ſeverity, and ſet his fault before him in ſuch a light, as almoſt threw him into deſpair. Araſpes overwhelmed with grief, could not refrain from tears, and was ſtruck dumb with ſhame and terror. Some days after Cyrus ſent for him, and he came all trembling and diſordered. Cyrus took him aſide, and inſtead of the violent reproaches he expected, ſpoke to him with the utmoſt mildneſs, owning that he had been to blame for imprudently ſhutting him up with ſo formidable an enemy. Such unexpected goodneſs gave life to the young lord. His confuſion, joy, and gratitude, drew tears from his eyes in abundance. It is now, ſays he, that I begin to know myſelf, and ſenſibly to prove that I have two ſouls, one that inclines me to do well, and the other that urges me to miſchief. The firſt is always ſuperior, when you are by to aſſiſt me, and are talking with me; and I yield to the other, and am overcome, when I am alone by myſelf. He made ample amends afterwards for his fault, and did Cyrus conſiderable ſervice, by retreating as a ſpy to the Aſſyrians, under the pretext of a pretended diſcontent.

Cyrus in the mean time prepared to advance into the enemy's country. None of the Medes would quit him, nor return without him to Cyaxares, whoſe rage and cruelty they apprehended. The army began their march. The good treatment Cyrus had given the priſoners of war, by ſending them all back free into their own country, had ſpread a general rumour of his clemency. Many of the people ſubmitted to him, and increaſed the number of his troops. When he drew nigh to Babylon, he ſent a challenge to the King of Aſſyria, offering to decide the quarrel by a ſingle combat. But this challenge was not accepted. However, for the ſecurity of his allies during his abſence, he entered into a kind of truce and treaty with him,

by

by which it was agreed on both ſides, that the huſbandmen ſhould not be diſturbed, but have full liberty to till the ground. And thus after he had taken a view of the country, examined the ſituation of Babylon, and enlarged the number of his friends and allies, he returned towards Media.

When he drew near the frontiers, he ſent deputies to Cyaxares, to give him notice of his arrival, and to receive his orders. Cyaxares did not think it adviſeable to admit ſo conſiderable an army into his country, which was beſides to be augmented by the addition of forty thouſand men, lately arrived from Perſia. The next day he ſet forward on his journey with the horſe that remained with him. Cyrus advanced to meet him with his, who were very numerous and in good order. The ſight of them awakened the jealouſy and diſcontent of Cyaxares. He gave his nephew a very cold reception, turned aſide his face, and declined his kiſs, and even let fall ſome tears. Cyrus commanded all that ſtood by him to withdraw, and reaſoned with him upon the occaſion. He ſpoke with ſo much mildneſs, ſubmiſſion, and force; gave him ſuch ſtrong proofs of his integrity, reſpect, and inviolable attachment to his perſon and intereſts, that he removed in a moment all his ſuſpicions, and was perfectly reſtored to his good graces. They mutually embraced each other, and ſhed tears on both ſides. The joy of the Medes and Perſians was inexpreſſible, who waited for the iſſue of this interview with fear and trembling. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately mounted their horſes, and then all the Medes poſted themſelves behind Cyaxares, purſuant to the ſignal Cyrus had given them. The Perſians followed Cyrus, and the other nations their reſpective Princes. When they were arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent which had been prepared for him. He was immediately viſited by moſt of the Medes, who came to pay their reſpects to him, and make him preſents, ſome of their own accord, and others by the direction

of Cyrus. Cyaxares was extremely affected with it, and began to be convinced that Cyrus had not debauched his ſubjects from him, but that the Medes bore him the ſame affectionate regard they had done before.

Reflections.

This whole ſtory is full of inſtruction. We ſee in Cyrus all the qualifications requiſite to form a great man, and in his troops whatever renders an army invincible. This young Prince, far ſuperior in his ſentiments to thoſe of his rank and age, placed not his glory in magnificent repaſts, clothes, and equipages. He was unacquainted with the airs of haughtineſs and pride, by which young men of quality often imagine they diſtinguiſh themſelves. He valued riches only for the pleaſure of diſtributing them, and the opportunity they gave him of adding to the number of his friends. He [p] was ſurpriſingly a maſter in the art of gaining the affections of others, and ſtill more by his obliging deportment and engaging behaviour, than his liberality. As he was perfectly acquainted with the ſcience of war, he abounded in ſtratagems and expedients; witneſs the change of arms and eſtabliſhment of cavalry which he introduced among the Perſians. He was ſober, vigilant, inured to labour, inſenſible of the allurements of pleaſure; and the contraſt between him and Cyaxares very much exalts the value of his excellent qualities.

At an age, when the paſſions are uſually moſt violent, and in the very heat of victory, when every thing ſeems allowable, in the midſt of the applauſes and praiſes he received on all ſides, he always remained abſolute maſter of himſelf, and gave a young lord, who was very unlike him, ſuch lectures of continence and virtue, as are ſurpriſing even to us that are Chriſtians,

[p] Artificium benevolentiæ colligendæ, ſays Tully, ſpeaking of Cyrus. Ep. 1. ad Quint. fratrem.

and are ſo very remote from our manners, that they ſeem almoſt incredible.

But what muſt aſtoniſh us ſtill more, is the infinite veneration he paid to the Gods, his exactneſs in forming no enterprize without conſulting them, and imploring their aſſiſtance; his religious acknowledgment of their favours, by aſcribing all his good ſucceſs to them; and the open profeſſion of piety and religion he was not aſhamed to make at all times and upon all occaſions, if I may be allowed to uſe theſe terms in the caſe of a Prince, who was ignorant of the true God.

This is what youth muſt ſtudy in Cyrus; and it may not be amiſs to obſerve to them, that one of the greateſt commanders in the Roman republick was formed upon this model, I mean the ſecond Scipio Africanus, who had the admirable books of the *Cyropædia* continually in his hands. [q] *Quos quidem libros non ſine cauſa noſter ille Scipio Africanus de manibus ponere non ſolebat. Nullum eſt enim prætermiſſum in his officium diligentis & moderati imperii.*

III. *The continuation of the war. The taking of Babylon. New conqueſts. The death of Cyrus.* Cyrop. lib. 6, &c.

In the council, which was held in preſence of Cyaxares, it was reſolved to continue the war. They made preparations for it with indefatigable ardour. The enemy's army were ſtill more in number than they had been the preceding campaign, and Egypt alone furniſhed above ſixſcore thouſand men. They met at Thymbræa, a city of Lydia. Cyrus, after taking all neceſſary precautions for ſupplying his army with every thing it might want, in which he was ſurpriſingly particular, as Xenophon relates at large, determined to begin his march. Cyaxares did not follow him, but tarried behind with a third part of the Medes

[q] Cic. Ep. 1. ad Quint. fratr.

only,

only, that he might not leave his country entirely without troops.

As Abradates, King of Suſiana, was preparing to put on his armour, his wife Panthea brought him an helmet, with bracelets and lockets of maſſy gold, a coat of arms fit for him plaited to the bottom, and a large plume of feathers of a purple colour. She had wrought the moſt part of them with her own hands unknown to her huſband, that ſhe might have the pleaſure of ſurpriſing him with the preſent. And though paſſionately fond of him, ſhe exhorted him rather to die with his arms in his hand, than not ſignalize himſelf by ſome action worthy their birth, and the character ſhe had given of him to Cyrus. We, ſays ſhe, are under the higheſt obligations to him. When I was his priſoner, and as ſuch deſigned for him, I was not treated as a ſlave by him, nor reſtored to liberty upon ſhameful conditions. He took as much care of me, as if I had been the wife of his own brother; and I promiſed him that you ſhould be grateful for ſuch a favour. Be not therefore unmindful of it. O Jupiter, cries Abradates, lifting up his eyes to heaven, grant that I may this day ſhew myſelf a huſband worthy of Panthea, and a friend that deſerves ſo generous a beneſactor. When he had ſaid this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, who could hold him no longer in her arms, kiſſed the chariot, and following it for ſome time on foot, at length retired.

When the armies were come within view of each other, they prepared for battle. After publick and general prayers, Cyrus offered libations in particular, and again beſought the God of his father to eſpouſe his cauſe, and guide him with his aſſiſtance. And hearing a clap of thunder, he cried out, *We follow thee, O Jupiter ſupreme*[r]; and inſtantly advanced towards the enemy. As the front of their battle far exceeded

[r] God indeed was actually his guide, but a very different God from Jupiter.

that

that of the Perſians, they in the center ſtood ſtill, whilſt the two wings advanced, inclining to the right and left, with a deſign to ſurround the army of Cyrus, and charge him at the ſame time in ſeveral places. This was what he expected, and was not at all ſurpriſed at. He ran through all the ranks to encourage his troops, and though upon other occaſions he behaved with ſo much modeſty, and was ſo remote from all appearance of vanity, when he was upon the point to engage, he cried out with a reſolute and deciſive voice, Follow to certain victory; the Gods are on our ſide. After giving all neceſſary orders, and cauſing the uſual hymn to be ſung through all the army, he gave the ſignal.

Cyrus began with attacking the wing of the enemy, which had advanced upon the right flank of his army, and having charged it alſo in flank, put it into diſorder. The ſame was done on the other ſide, where they made the ſquadron of camels advance firſt. The enemy's cavalry did not wait their coming up; but as ſoon as the horſes ſaw them at a diſtance, they fell back upon one another, and ſome of them prancing and flinging, threw their riders to the ground. The chariots armed with ſcythes finiſhed what was wanting to complete the confuſion. In the mean time Abradates, who commanded the chariots that were placed at the head of the army, brought them on full ſpeed. The enemy was unable to ſuſtain ſo rough a charge, and were put to the rout. Abradates having pierced them, fell upon the battalions of the Egyptians; but his chariot being unfortunately overturned, he was ſlain with his men, after having given extraordinary proofs of his valour. The battle was fierce on that ſide, and the Perſians were forced to fall back as far as their machines. There the Egyptians found themſelves much incommoded by the arrows that were caſt from thoſe rolling towers, and the battalions of the rear-guard of the Perſians advancing ſword in hand, hindered the archers from paſſing far-

ther, and obliged them to return to their poſt. There was then nought elſe to be ſeen but rivers of blood ſtreaming on every ſide. In the mean time Cyrus came up, after having put to flight whatever had oppoſed him. He was grieved to ſee the Perſians had given way, and judging the Egyptians would ſtill go on to gain ground, he reſolved to attack them in the rear; and in an inſtant having thrown himſelf with his troops behind their battalions, he charged them rudely. The horſe at the ſame time advanced, and attacked the enemy briſkly. The Egyptiäns, thus encompaſſed on every ſide, faced about on all ſides, and defended themſelves with wonderful courage. Cyrus at laſt admiring their valour, and being unwilling to ſuffer ſo many brave men to be cut in pieces, offered them honourable conditions, repreſenting to them that all their allies had forſaken them. Theſe conditions were accepted, and they afterwards ſerved in his troops with inviolable fidelity.

After the loſs of the battle, Crœſus fled with great diligence to Sardis with his troops, whither Cyrus purſued him the next day, and made himſelf maſter of the city without any reſiſtance.

From thence he marched directly to Babylon, conquering by the way the greater Phrygia and Cappadocia. When he was come before the town, and had carefully examined its ſituations, walls, and fortifications, every one judged it was abſolutely impoſſible to take it by force. He ſeemed therefore reſolved upon the deſign of carrying it by famine. To this end he cauſed very large and deep ditches to be dug quite round the town, to prevent, as he ſaid, any thing from entering in or going out. The people of the city could not help ridiculing his deſign to beſiege them; and as the town was furniſhed with more than twenty years proviſions, they made a jeſt of all the trouble he was at. When his works were finiſhed, Cyrus was adviſed that a great feſtival was ſoon to be ſolemnized, whereon all the Babylonians ſpent the night

ight in drinking and revelling. Upon the night of he feſtival, which came on early, he cauſed the outh of the trenches to be opened which pointed toards the rivers, when the water ruſhed impetuouſly nto this new channel, and leaving its former bed dry, pened Cyrus a free paſſage into the city. His troops herefore entered without any reſiſtance. They arched forward till they came to the palace, where he King was ſlain. At break of day the citadel rrendered upon the news that the town was taken, nd the King dead. Cyrus cauſed proclamation to be ade in all quarters, that whoever would eſcape with heir lives ſhould tarry in their houſes, and ſend him heir arms; which was done immediately. And this as all the trouble this Prince had in conquering the icheſt and ſtrongeſt city then in the world.

Cyrus began with returning thanks to the Gods for he good ſucceſs they had granted him; he aſſembled the principal officers, publickly commended their ourage, wiſdom, zeal and fidelity, and diſtributed ewards to the whole army. He then remonſtrated o them, that the only way to preſerve what they had cquired, was to perſevere in their ancient virtue; hat the fruits of a victory did not conſiſt in abanoning themſelves to eaſe and idleneſs; that after hey had conquered the enemy by force of arms, it ould be ſhameful to let themſelves be conquered by he allurements of pleaſure; that laſtly, if they would etain their ancient glory, they muſt maintain the ame diſcipline at Babylon amongſt the Perſians, as as obſerved in their own country, and to this end mploy their chief care in the good education of their hildren. By this means, ſays he, we ſhall daily row more virtuous ourſelves, by ſtriving to ſet them ood examples; and they cannot eaſily be corrupted, hilſt they neither ſee nor hear any thing from us, ut what has a tendency to virtue, and are continually mployed in the practice of honeſt and commendble exerciſes.

Cyrus

Cyrus aſſigned the different parts and cares of the government to different perſons, according to the talents he knew them to be maſters of; but he reſerved to himſelf alone the office of forming generals, governors of provinces, miniſters and embaſſadors, in judging this to be properly the duty and buſineſs of a King, and that whereon his glory, the ſucceſs of all his affairs, and the quiet and happineſs of the empire abſolutely depended. Matters relating to war, the finances, and the civil government, he diſpoſed in a ſurpriſing order. He had perſons of known probity diſperſed through all the provinces, who gave him an account of all that paſſed; and theſe were called the eyes and ears of the Prince. He was careful to reward and honour all perſons diſtinguiſhed by their merit, and excelling in any particular whatſoever. He ſet a far greater value upon clemency than courage, as the laſt was often the cauſe of the ruin and deſolation of a people, whereas the other was always beneficial and ſalutary. The laws he judged were of admirable ſervice in contributing to a due regulation of manners; but in his opinion the Prince was to be a living law by his example; and he thought him unworthy to command others, who had not more underſtanding and virtue than his ſubjects. Liberality ſeemed to him a virtue truly royal; but he did not think it comparable to goodneſs, affability, and humanity, virtues proper to gain the hearts and win the affections of the people, which is properly to reign; beſides, that to be fond of giving more than others when one is infinitely richer than they, has nothing ſo extraordinary in it, as to deſcend in a manner from the throne, to make himſelf equal with his ſubjects. But the greateſt preference he gave to the worſhip of the Gods, and a reverence for religion; as being fully perſuaded, that whoever was religious and feared God, was at the ſame time a good and faithful ſervant to Kings, and firmly attached to their perſons and the good of the ſtate.

When

en Cyrus thought he had given ſufficient orders
ning the affairs of Babylon, he reſolved upon a
y into Perſia. He paſſed through Media to viſit
res, to whom he made conſiderable preſents,
t him know that he would find a magnificent
prepared for him at Babylon, whenever he
l to go thither, and that he ſhould look upon
ty as properly his own. Cyaxares, who had
le iſſue, offered him his daughter in marriage,
ledia for her portion. He was very ſenſible the
al was to his advantage, but he could not ac-
: till he had obtained the conſent of his father
nother; leaving to all after-ages a rare exam-
the reſpectful ſubmiſſion and entire dependance
ll children ought to ſhew to their parents upon
n occaſion, of what age ſoever they be, or to
legree of power and greatneſs ſoever they are
l. Cyrus then eſpouſed this Princeſs at his re-
rom Perſia, and carried her with him to Baby-
here he had fixed the ſeat of his empire.
ere he aſſembled his troops. 'Tis ſaid, they
ed of ſixſcore thouſand horſe, two thouſand
ts armed with ſcythes, and ſix hundred thouſand
With this numerous army he took the field,
bdued all the nations from Syria to the Indian
After which he turned his arms againſt Egypt,
ought that country in like manner under his
tion.
took up his reſidence in the midſt of all theſe
ies, paſſing uſually ſeven months at Babylon
; the winter, becauſe of the warmth of the cli-
three months at Suſa in the ſpring; and two
s at Ecbatana, during the great heats of the
r.
er many years ſpent in this manner, Cyrus re-
into Perſia for the ſeventh time ſince the eſta-
ent of his monarchy. Cambyſes and Mandane
en long dead, and himſelf was grown very old.
g his end to draw near, he called together his
ſons

ſons and the great men of the empire; and when
had thanked the Gods for all the favours they
beſtowed upon him during his life, and begged a
protection of them for his children, his friends,
his country, he declared his eldeſt ſon Cambyſe
ſucceſſor, and left the other ſeveral conſiderable
vernments. He gave them both excellent advice
informing them that piety to the Gods, a good
derſtanding between brethren, and the care of
quiring and preſerving faithful friends, was the fir
ſupport of the throne. He died lamented eq
by all his people.

Reflections.

I ſhall make two upon this ſubject; the one
cerning the character and perſonal qualities of
rus, and the other upon the truth of his hiſtor
written by Xenophon.

The firſt Reflection.

We may look upon Cyrus as the wiſeſt conq
and moſt accompliſhed hero mentioned in pr
hiſtory. He wanted none of the qualities that
a great man; he had wiſdom, moderation, cou
greatneſs of ſoul, noble ſentiments, a wonderful
terity in directing the will, and conciliating a
tion; a profound knowledge in all the branch
the art of war, and an extenſive underſtanding,
ported by a prudent reſolution, in forming and
cuting great projects.

But what was moſt truly great and royal in
was a thorough conviction that all his care an
tention ought to tend to making his people ha

[a] Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, ὑ τῷ πολλὰ ἐπίστασθαι, ἢ πολὺν ἔνδον ἔχειν χρυσὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν τε καὶ φιλοπονεῖν προθυμεῖσθαι. Cyrop. lib. 1.

Ac mihi quidem videntur omnia eſſe referenda ab iis qui præſunt aliis, ut ii qui eo imperio erunt, ſint quam b mi. Cic. ep. 1. lib. 1. ad fratr.

and that a King was not to be diſtinguiſhed from his ſubjects by the ſplendor of riches, the pomp of equipage, or the luxury and expence of his table; but by a ſuperiority of merit in every kind, and eſpecially by an indefatigable application to watch over their intereſts, and to procure them eaſe and plenty. In ſhort, the foundation and baſis in a manner of the ſtate of Princes, is not to live for themſelves. To be devoted to the publick good, is the very characteriſtick of their real greatneſs. They are like the fountain of light, ſet only in an high place, to be the more univerſally diffuſed. And it would be injurious to them to confine them within the narrow bounds of perſonal intereſt. They would fall again into the obſcurity of a private condition, if their views were leſs extended than their dominions. The whole claims them, becauſe confided to them.

'Twas from the aſſemblage of all theſe virtues that Cyrus was enabled in ſo ſhort a time to lay the foundations of an empire, which took in almoſt all the parts of the world; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruit of his conqueſts for many years; that he was ſo much eſteemed and beloved, not only by his natural ſubjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; and that after his death he was generally lamented as the common father of all his people.

We ought not to be ſurpriſed that Cyrus was ſo accompliſhed in every reſpect, as we know that God himſelf had formed him to be the inſtrument and agent of his deſigns of mercy towards his people, and to give the world in his perſon a perfect model of the manner in which princes ought to govern their people, and the real uſe they ought to make of ſovereignty.

When I ſay that this Prince was formed by God himſelf, I do not mean by a ſenſible miracle, or that he was at once made ſuch as we admire him in hiſtory. God gave him an happy genius and capacity, by implanting in his mind the ſeeds of every great quality, and in his heart a diſpoſition to the moſt extraordinary

all his enterprizes, led him as it were by th
all his conqueſts, opened for him the gates
made the ſtrongeſt ramparts fall down bef
and humbled in his preſence the moſt migh
earth [t].

To ſet the merit of Cyrus in a better l
need only compare him with another King
I mean Xerxes his grandſon, who, hurried
abſurd motive of revenge, attempted t
Greece. We ſee him ſurrounded with wh
held moſt in eſteem, and makes the greateſt
the eyes of men; the largeſt empire at tha
the world, immenſe riches, forces by ſea
in an almoſt incredible number. But all
but around him, not in him, and added nothi
natural qualifications. For through a blin
common amongſt Princes and great men, bc
poſſeſſion of unbounded wealth with unlimit
and encompaſſed with a glory he had been at
to acquire, he had accuſtomed himſelf to juc
own talents and perſonal merit from the outl
high place and ſtate. He deſpiſes the ſage
his uncle Artabanus and Demaratus, to give

ſervile ſubmiſſion of ſo many nations does not ify his ambition; and diſdaining too ready and an obedience, he pleaſes himſelf with exerciſing dominion over the elements, with cutting thro' ntains, and making them navigable, with chaſ- g the ſea for breaking down his bridge, and bind- the floods with chains. Full of a childiſh vanity a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himſelf as maſ- of nature and the elements; thinks no nation s oppoſe his way, and with preſumptuous folly idle aſſurance reckons upon the millions of men veſſels that follow at his heels. But when after battle of Salamis, he ſaw the ſad remains and eful ruins of his innumerable troops diſperſed all Greece, he was then convinced of the diffe- e there was between an army and a multitude en; [u] *ſtratuſque per totam paſſim Græciam Xerxes lexit, quantum ab exercitu turba diſtaret.*

cannot omit applying in this place two of Ho- 's verſes, which ſeem made for the double event ve now been ſpeaking of.

Vis conſili expers mole ruit ſua;
Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt
In majus.

n ſhort, can the army of Xerxes be better deſcrib- han by theſe words, *vis conſili expers*, a power of counſel and prudence; or can the ſucceſs of e expreſſed better than by the following terms, *ruit ſua*, which ſhew how that enormous Coloſ- ell by its own weight and grandeur? Whereas, Horace, the Gods take a pleaſure in augmenting wer, founded in juſtice, and guided by reaſon, as was the power of Cyrus, *Vim temperatam Dii ue provehunt in majus.*

[u] Senec. lib. 6. de Benef. cap. 32.

The

The ſecond Reflection.

One of the rules I laid down as uſeful to direct youth in the ſtudy of hiſtory, was principally to enquire after truth, and early to accuſtom themſelves to know and diſtinguiſh the characters of it. This is the natural place of applying this rule. Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what I look upon to be the eſſential part and ſubſtance of Cyrus's hiſtory, I mean his expedition againſt Babylon, and his other conqueſts, are very different in their accounts of ſeveral other very important facts, ſuch as the birth and death of this Prince, and the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire.

Youth ſhould not be left ignorant of theſe differences. Herodotus, and after him Juſtin, relate, that Aſtyages, King of the Medes, upon a frightful dream which he had, married his daughter Mandana, to a Perſian of obſcure birth and condition, named Cambyſes. A ſon being born of this marriage, the King ordered Harpagus one of the principal officers, to put him to death. Harpagus gave him to one of the King's ſhepherds to be expoſed in a foreſt; but the child being miraculouſly preſerved, and brought up privately by the ſhepherd's wife, was at laſt diſcovered by his grandfather, who was ſatisfied with ſending him to a remote part of Perſia, and diſcharged his whole indignation upon the wretched Harpagus, whoſe ſon he cauſed to be killed, and dreſſed, and ſerved up to his father at an entertainment. The young Cyrus, ſeveral years after, informed by Harpagus of his birth and ſtation, and encouraged by his advice and remonſtrances, raiſed an army, marched againſt Aſtyages, defeated him in battle, and thereby transferred the empire of the Medes to the Perſians.

The ſame Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner very unworthy ſo great a conqueror. This Prince, according to him, having made war againſt the Scythians,

thians, in the firſt battle he counterfeited a flight, leaving behind him a large quantity of wine and proviſions in the field. The Scythians did not fail to fall greedily upon them. Cyrus returned againſt them, and finding them all drunk and aſleep, he defeated them without difficulty, and took abundance of them priſoners; and among the reſt the ſon of Queen Tomyris, who commanded an army in perſon. This young Prince, whom Cyrus refuſed to ſend back to his mother, recovering from his drunkenneſs, and not bearing to ſuffer captivity, killed himſelf. Tomyris, animated with a thirſt of revenge, gave a ſecond battle to the Perſians; and having drawn them in her turn into an ambuſcade by a pretended flight, cut off above two hundred thouſand of them, with Cyrus their King. And then cutting off Cyrus's head, ſhe threw it into a veſſel full of blood, with this inſulting ſpeech, "Cruel as thou art, ſa-"tiate thyſelf with blood, of which in thy life-"time thou haſt always been inſatiable." * *Satia te, inquit, ſanguine quem ſitiſti, cujuſque inſatiabilis ſemper fuiſti.*

The queſtion is, which of theſe two hiſtorians, who relate the ſame hiſtory in ſo different a manner, is the beſt authority. Youth themſelves, if properly interrogated by a ſkilful maſter, may eaſily give an anſwer. The account which Herodotus gives of the firſt years of Cyrus, has more the air of a fable than an hiſtory. And for his death, what likelihood is there, that a Prince, ſo experienced in war, and ſtill more commendable for his prudence than valour, ſhould have run head-long into the ſnares laid for him by a woman. What the ſame hiſtorian relates of the violent paſſion and childiſh revenge of Cyrus againſt a river, which had drowned one of his ſacred horſes, and which he cauſed his army to cut directly into three hundred and ſixty channels, is directly op-

* Juſtin. lib. 1. cap. 8.

posite to the character of this Prince, [x] who was famous for his mildness and moderation. [y] Besides, is it probable that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should squander time so precious to him in this manner, spend the ardour of his troops in so useless a labour, and lose the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself in making war upon a river, instead of carrying his arms against the enemy?

But what absolutely decides in favour of Xenophon, is the agreement of his account with the Holy Scripture, where we see that Cyrus was so far from raising the empire of the Persians upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Herodotus remarks, that those two nations acted in concert in the siege of Babylon, and joined their forces to destroy that formidable power.

Whence then could so great a difference arise between the two historians? Herodotus will tell us, in the very passage, where he relates the birth of Cyrus, and in that where he speaks of his death, he [illegible] there were then very different manners of reporting these two great events. Herodotus followed [illegible] which were most agreeable to his own fancy; and as he was very fond of any thing extraordinary and wonderful, and very easy to give credit to it, [illegible] more serious and less credulous, [illegible] tells us in the beginning of his history, that he had [illegible] fully engaged into the birth of Cyrus, his character and education.

[illegible] hence from what I have said, that [illegible] not to be credited in any thing, because he

[illegible] them [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

netimes miſtaken; this rule would be falſe and
t; as we ſhould be to blame to believe every
an author ſays, becauſe he ſometimes ſpeaks
. Truth and falſhood may be found together;
he reader's judgment and prudence conſiſt in
ing how to diſtinguiſh them, in pointing them
y certain peculiar circumſtances, and in making
trial aud ſeparation of them. And to this judg-
in diſcerning what is true or falſe the boys ſhould
rly accuſtomed.

ſecond Piece, taken from the hiſtory of the Greeks.

Of the grandeur and empire of Athens.

[Y deſign in this ſecond piece of hiſtory is to
give ſome idea of the ſuperiority of the Athe-
s for ſeveral years over all Greece, and to lay
by what means and degrees they arrived at that
ht of power. The principal perſons, who in the
e of time we ſpeak of, contributed moſt to the
liſhment and ſupport of the power of this repub-
though by very different qualifications, were
miſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, and Pericles.
hemiſtocles indeed laid the foundation of this
power by one ſingle piece of advice, in turning
whole power and views of the Athenians towards
ea. Cimon brought theſe naval forces into ſervice
is maritime expeditions, which reduced the Per-
empire to the very brink of ruin. Ariſtides
lied the expences of the war by his wiſe œcono-
in the management of the publick treaſure. And
cles, by his prudence, ſupported and augmented
t the others had acquired, in mixing the gentle ex-
es of peace with the tumultuous expeditions of
. Thus the riſe of the Athenians was owing to

the happy concurrence and mixture of the policy of Themiſtocles, the activity of Cimon, the diſintereſtedneſs of Ariſtides, and the wiſdom of Pericles; ſo that if any one of theſe cauſes had been wanting, Athens would never have obtained the ſupremacy of Greece.

The good ſucceſs of the battle of Marathon, where Themiſtocles was preſent, firſt kindled in his heart that thirſt of glory which followed him ever after, and ſometimes carried him too far. The trophies of Miltiades, he ſaid, left him no reſt either by day or night. He reſolved from that time to make his name and country illuſtrious by ſome great action, and render it ſuperior to Lacedæmon, which had long lorded it over all Greece. With this view he judged it would be expedient to turn all the force of Athens towards the ſea, ſeeing that as it was weak by land, that was the only means of making it neceſſary to its allies, and formidable to its enemies. Covering therefore his deſigns under the plauſible pretext of the war againſt the Æginetæ, he cauſed a fleet of an hundred ſhips to be built, which ſoon after was a great inſtrument in contributing to the ſafety of Greece.

The inviolable affection Ariſtides bore to juſtice, obliged him upon ſeveral occaſions to oppoſe Themiſtocles, who was not over ſcrupulous in that point, and managed ſo by his intrigues and cabals, as to procure the baniſhment of Ariſtides. In this kind of judgment the citizens gave their votes by writing the name of the perſon upon a ſhell, in Greek called ὄστρακον, whence was derived the name of oſtraciſm. A peaſant upon this occaſion who knew not how to write and did not know Ariſtides, applied to himſelf, deſiring he would put the name of Ariſtides upon his ſhell. Why, ſays Ariſtides, has he done you any wrong, that you would thus condemn him? No, replied the other, I don't ſo much as know him; but I can't endure to hear every body calling him *Juſt*. Ariſtides, without one word of anſwer, quietly takes his

writes his name upon it, and gives it him back.
. He took his leave with an earneſt prayer,
he Gods would not inflict any misfortune upon
untry to make him regretted. The great Ca-
s in a like caſe did not follow his generoſity, but
d up a quite different petition. [a] *In exilium precatus ab diis immortalibus, ſi innoxio ſibi ea inſieret, prime quoque tempore deſiderium ſui civitate tæ facerent.* I ſhall hereafter examine what we
think of the oſtraciſm. Ariſtides was very ſoon
led.

ne expedition of Xerxes againſt Greece haſtened
eturn. All the allies united their forces to repel
ommon enemy. They were then ſenſible how
eable the prudent foreſight of Themiſtocles was,
under another pretence had built an hundred
s. They doubled this number upon the arrival of
es. When they came to nominate the genera-
o, that was to command the fleet, the Atheni-
who alone were maſters of two thirds of the veſ-
laid claim to the honour, and moſt juſtly. How-
all the voices of the allies were unanimous in fa-
of Eurybiades the Lacedæmonian. Themiſto-
though young and very deſirous of glory, judged
upon this occaſion he ought to lay aſide his own
eſt for the common good of his country; and tell-
he Athenians, that if they behaved with cou-
the Greeks would ſoon of their own accord con-
ne command upon them, he perſuaded them to
to the Lacedæmonians, as he did. I have elſe-
e related with what moderation and prudence
young Athenian behaved both in the council of
and at the battle of Salamis, whereof he had
ne honour, though he was not the commander in

om that glorious victory the reputation and cre-
f the Athenians very much increaſed. They be-
d with great modeſty upon the occaſion, and

a Liv. lib. 5. n. 32.

fought only to advance their power by honourable and juſt means. Mardonius, who was left in Greece with an army of three hundred thouſand men, made them very advantageous propoſals in his maſter's name, to draw them off from the allies. He promiſed entirely to rebuild their city, which had been burnt down, to ſupply them with large ſums of money, and give them the command over all Greece. The Lacedæmonians terrified with the news ſent deputies to Athens, to diſſuade them from a compliance, and offered to receive and provide for their wives, their children, and their old men, and furniſh them with every thing elſe they wanted. Ariſtides was then in power. He anſwered that he excuſed the Barbarians, who valued nothing but gold and ſilver, for hoping to corrupt their fidelity by large promiſes; but he was ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed to ſee that the poverty and preſent miſery of the Athenians ſhould have ſuch an effect upon the Lacedæmonians, as to make them forget ſo much their valour and generoſity, as to imagine they ſtood in need of their exhortation to fight manfully for the common ſafety of Greece, from the view of any rewards that they could offer; that they ſhould tell their republick, that all the gold in the world could not tempt the Athenians, or make them abandon the defence of the common liberty; that they thanked the Lacedæmonians however for their obliging offers, but they ſhould take care to put their allies to no expence. And then turning to the deputies of Mardonius, and ſtretching out his hand to the ſkies, "Know, ſays he, whilſt "yon ſun ſhall continue his courſe, the Athenians will "be mortal enemies to the Perſians, and never ceaſe "to revenge upon them the ravage of their lands, "and the burning of their houſes and temples."

Themiſtocles in the mean time did not loſe ſight of the great project he had formed for ſupplanting the Lacedæmonians, and ſubſtituting the Athenians in their place; and without much concern about the choice of the means, he thought every thing juſt and

good

that promoted that end. One day, in a full as-
y of the citizens, he declared that he had a de-
f great importance, but could not communicate
he people, because the success of it depended
its being kept secret; he desired therefore they
l nominate somebody to whom he might explain
lf. They all named Aristides, and referred them-
absolutely to his opinion. Themistocles, taking
side, told him he thought of burning the Gre-
leet, which lay in a neighbouring port; and that
was done, Athens would certainly become mis-
of all Greece. Aristides returned to the assembly,
arely declared, that nothing in the world could
re advantageous than the project of Themisto-
nor any thing at the same time more unjust.
people with one consent forbad Themistocles to
ed in it any farther.

e see by this that the surname of *Just* was deser-
conferred upon Aristides during his life-time; a
says Plutarch, infinitely preferable to all that are
ed by the greatest conquerors with so much ar-
and in some measure bordering upon divinity.
day, as a verse of Æschylus was repeated upon
heatre, in which the poet speaking of Amphia-
says, *That he sought not to appear just, but to be*
he whole people immediately cast their eyes upon
ides, and applied to him that admirable encomium,
he Persian army received a terrible blow in the fa-
battle of Platæa. Out of three hundred thou-
men commanded by Mardonius, scarce forty
and escaped. Pausanias, one of the Kings of Spar-
as at the head of the Grecian army. He behav-
that time with great equity and moderation,
pears from two stories related by [z] Herodotus,
h are very particular.

fter the victory of Platæa, one of the principal
ns of Ægina advised him to revenge upon the body
ardonius the death of so many brave Spartans,

[z] Lib. 5.

as were ſlain at Thermopylæ, and the unworthy treatment his uncle Leonidas had met with from Xerxes and Mardonius, who fixed his body to a gibbet. "Would you adviſe me then, ſays he, to imitate "the Barbarians in the thing we hate? If the eſteem "of the Æginetæ is to be bought at ſo dear a rate, I "ſhall be content with pleaſing the Lacedæmonians, "who ſet a value only upon virtue and merit. As "to Leonidas and his companions, they are without "doubt ſufficiently revenged by the blood of ſo many "thouſand Perſians, as have been ſlain in the battle."

The ſecond ſtory is no leſs remarkable. Pauſanias, who had found an immenſe booty in the camp of the enemy, ordered two entertainments of a very different kind to be ſerved up in the ſame hall. In one was diſplayed at full length the magnificence of the Perſians, rich beds, coſtly carpets, gold and ſilver veſſels innumerable, a prodigious variety of meats dreſſed with all the delicacy imaginable, wines and liquors of all ſorts. The other was very plain after the Spartan manner, that is, bread and water, and at moſt the black broth. Pauſanias applying himſelf to the Greek officers, whom he had purpoſely invited, and pointing to the two different tables, "See," [a] ſays he to them, "the folly of the general of the Medes, tho' "accuſtomed to dine upon ſuch meals as theſe, he "thought to conquer us, who live ſo hardly."

The advantage the Greeks had lately gained put them into a condition to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the allies, who were yet under the power of the Perſians. This fleet was commanded by Pauſanias the Lacedæmonian. Ariſtides and Cimon were the generals of the Athenians. They firſt ſet ſail towards Cyprus, then to Byzantium, and took it; and in all places reſtored the allies to their liberty; but ſoon after fell themſelves into a new kind of ſlavery. Pauſanias,

[a] Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα ἀφρονέστην δεῖξαι ὃς τοιάνδε δίαιταν ἔχων, ἦλθε ἐς ὑμέας οἵτω ἀνυμῶν τοῦδε τοῦ βίου ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἐμὲ ἐκ ὑμέων συνήγαγεν. Βουλόμενος ἔχοντας; ἀπαιρησόμενος.

grown

grown haughty upon the victories he had obtained, quitted the manners and cuſtoms of his country, aſſumed the habit and ſtate of the Perſians, and imitated their pomp and magnificence. He treated the allies with inſupportable ſeverity; ſpoke to the officers with a lofty and menacing air; required extravagant honours to be paid him; and by his conduct rendered the government of the Lacedæmonians odious to all the allies. The gentle, good-natur'd, and obliging behaviour of Ariſtides and Cimon, the humanity and juſtice which appeared in all their actions; the care they took to offend no body, and be ſerviceable to all, contributed to make the difference of characters ſtill more remarkable, and to increaſe the diſcontent. The affair at laſt broke out into an open rupture, and the allies all ſubmitted to the command of the Athenians, and put themſelves under their protection. Thus, ſays Plutarch, Ariſtides by oppoſing gentleneſs and good-nature to the pride and cruelty of Pauſanias, and inſpiring the ſame ſentiments into Cimon his collegue, withdrew the affections of the allies imperceptibly from the Lacedæmonians, and at laſt deprived them of the command, not by the force of fleets and armies, and ſtill leſs by fraud and treachery, but by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable thro' their diſcreet and mild behaviour.

The Lacedæmonians upon this occaſion ſhewed a generoſity and moderation, which cannot be too much admired. For perceiving that too great authority had rendered their officers haughty and inſolent, they readily gave up the ſuperiority they had till then held over the reſt of the Greeks, and forbore to deſire that the command of their army ſhould be entruſted to any more of their generals, [b] chuſing rather to have diſcreet and modeſt citizens, and ſuch as would abſolutely ſubmit to the diſcipline and laws of their coun-

[b] Μᾶλλον αἱρούμενοι σοφρονοῦντας ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης. Plut. in vit. Ariſtid.

ἔχειν ἢ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἰμμένοντας τοῦς πολίτας, ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔχειν τὴν.

try, than to preſerve the pre-eminence over the other Greeks.

Hitherto the cities and people of Greece had contributed certain ſums of money to defray the expence of the war againſt the Barbarians; but this collection had always occaſioned great diſcontents, as it had not been raiſed in due proportion. It was therefore judged expedient under the new government to eſtabliſh a new order for the finances, and fix a tax to be regulated by the revenue of every city and people, that the charges of the ſtate being equally divided amongſt its reſpective members, none of them might have cauſe to complain. The buſineſs was to find out a fit perſon for the diſcharge of an employment of ſuch moment to the publick, and yet ſo nice, and full of dangers and inconveniencies. All the allies made choice of Ariſtides. They gave him a full power, and referred themſelves abſolutely to his prudence and juſtice for the impoſition of the tax. Nor had they any cauſe to repent of their choice. He managed the publick money with the fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs of one who looks upon it as a capital crime to lay his hand upon the property of another, with the care and activity of a father of a family inſpecting into his own revenue, and with the caution and religion of a perſon, who conſiders the publick money as a ſacred treaſure. Laſtly, what is very difficult and very rare, he acquired the affection of every body in a ſtation, where a man muſt manage well not to make himſelf odious. This glorious encomium Seneca beſtows upon a perſon entruſted with the like employment, which is the higheſt character that can be given a miniſter, to whom the publick treaſures are confided. I ſhall give his words in Latin, not being able to expreſs the ſtrong and elegant brevity of Seneca in our own language in the manner I could wiſh. *Vis quidem orbis terrarum rationes administres, tam abstinenter quam utiles, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiose quam publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile*

est.

ſt. This is literally what Ariſtides did. He ſhewed ſo much equity and wiſdom in the adminiſtration of his office, that no body complained of him; and his time was ever after regarded as the golden age of Greece. In ſhort, the tax he had fixed to four hundred and ſixty talents was advanced by Pericles to ſix hundred, and ſoon after to thirteen hundred talents; not that the charge of the war amounted ſo high, but becauſe of many uſeleſs expences in diſtributions to the people of Athens, in the celebrating of plays and feſtivals, in the building of temples and publick edifices; and beſides the hands of thoſe, who had the counting of the publick money, were not always ſo pure and clean as the hands of Ariſtides.

For it is remarkable that this great man was poorer when he left his employment, in which men uſually grow rich, than when he firſt entered upon it; inſomuch that after his death there was not enough in his houſe to defray the expences of his funeral. The people charged themſelves with it, and alſo with the maintenance of his daughters and giving them portions [c]. This condition ſo deſpicable in the eyes of the generality of mankind, was the choice of Ariſtides, in which he always perſevered out of taſte and inclination; and ſo far was he from being aſhamed of his poverty, that he looked upon it to be no leſs glorious than all the trophies and victories he had gained. Plutarch gives a proof it, which I cannot omit here.

Callias, a very near relation of Ariſtides, and the richeſt citizen in Athens, was brought to a trial upon an accuſation againſt him. His accuſer, inſiſting little upon the merits of his cauſe, chiefly objected to him, that rich as he was, he was not aſhamed to ſee Ariſtides, his wife and children, reduced to want, without relieving their neceſſities. Callias obſerving that this reproach made a great impreſſion upon the minds of his judges, ſummoned Ariſtides to declare before them,

[c] Plut.

whether it was not true, that he had ſeveral times offered him large ſums of money, and even preſſed him to accept of them; and whether he had not conſtantly refuſed them by ſaying, that he could boaſt more juſtly of his poverty, than the other of his riches; that a great many might be found who made a good or bad uſe of their riches, but it was not eaſy to meet with one who bore poverty with courage and generoſity; and that none but thoſe who were poor againſt their will ought to be aſhamed of being ſo. Ariſtides owned that all his kinſman had ſaid was true. And there was no perſon in the aſſembly, who was not thoroughly convinced in his own mind, that it was much better to be poor like Ariſtides, than rich like Callias. Hence Plato reckoning up ſuch as were moſt famous among the Athens, ſets a value upon none but Ariſtides. For the reſt, [d] ſays he, as Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they adorned the city indeed with portico's, and ſumptuous buildings; filled it with gold and ſilver, and ſuch other ſuperfluities and curioſities; but he left behind him the model of a perfect government, by propoſing no other in end in all his actions than the making his citizens more virtuous.

[e] Cimon had alſo very great qualities, which contributed very much to eſtabliſhing and confirming the power of the Athenians. Beſides the ſums of money, in which every one of the allies were taxed, they were beſides to furniſh a certain number of men and ſhips. Several of them who after the retreat of Xerxes were deſirous only of repoſe, and ſought nothing more than to cultivate their lands in peace, choſe rather to ſend money than men, and left to the Athenians the care of filling up the vacancies of ſoldiers and ſeamen they were obliged to ſupply. At firſt this occaſioned great uneaſineſs, and they ſeemed reſolved to put them up-

[d] Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν γὰρ ἡ Κίμωνα, ἢ Περικλέα, ἐῶν ἢ κεχρυσωκότα, ἢ φλυαρίας πολλῆς ἐμπλήσαντα τὴν πόλιν Ἀριστίδην δὲ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς. Plutarch in vit. Ariſtid.

[e] Plut. in vit. Cimon.

in the literal execution of the treaty. Cimon took a quite oppoſite method. He ſuffered them to enjoy peace in quiet, as perceiving that the allies, though formerly brave ſoldiers, would ſoon be fit for nothing but huſbandry and merchandiſe, whilſt the Athenians, who had conſtantly their oars or their arms in their hands, would daily grow better ſoldiers, and become more powerful. This was a neceſſary conſequence; thoſe very people at their own proper expence and charges gave themſelves maſters, and from being companions and allies, became in a manner ſubject and tributary to the Athenians.

[f] No general among the Greeks ever humbled the pride and power of the great King of Perſia, like Cimon. When the Barbarians were driven out of Greece, he left them no breathing time, but purſued them briſkly with a fleet of above two hundred ſail, got poſſeſſion of their ſtrongeſt places, and drew off all their allies, that the King of Perſia had not a ſoldier left in all Aſia from the country of Ionia to Pamphylia. And ſtill purſuing his point, he had the boldneſs to fall upon the enemies fleet, though far more numerous than his own, at the mouth of the river Eurymedon. He entirely defeated it, and took above two hundred veſſels without reckoning thoſe that were ſunk. The Perſians had quited their veſſels, to join their army by land, which lay hard by, and were coaſting the ſhore. Cimon, taking advantage of the ardour of his ſoldiers, who were encouraged by their late ſucceſs, landed them immediately, and led them directly againſt the Barbarians, who firmly ſtood their ground, and ſupported the firſt ſhock with a great deal of courage. But at laſt being forced to give way they took to their heels. They made a great ſlaughter, took an infinite number of priſoners, and an immenſe booty. Cimon having thus gained two victories in one day, which equalled, if not exceeded in glory, the two battles of Salamis and Platæa, to complete all, went to meet

[f] Plut. in vit. Cimon.

a ſupply of fourſcore Phœnician veſſels, which were coming to join the fleet of the Perſians, and knew nothing of what had paſſed. They were all taken or ſunk, and moſt of the ſoldiers killed or drowned. This exploit ſo humbled the pride of the King of Perſia, that he conſented to that treaty of peace ſo much talked of in ancient hiſtory, by which he promiſed, that his army by land ſhould never come nearer the Grecian ſea than 400 *Stadia*, which make near twenty leagues, and that his gallies or other veſſels of war ſhould not go beyond the Chalidonian or Cyanean Iſlands.

Cimon returned at Athens full of glory, and applied part of the ſpoils in fortifying the port, and adorning the city. [f] During his abſence Pericles had acquired conſiderable authority among the people. He was not naturally of a popular diſpoſition, but became ſo through policy, to remove the ſuſpicions which might be conceived of his aſpiring to tyranny, as alſo to counterbalance the credit and authority of Cimon, who was ſupported by the faction of the rich and powerful. Pericles had an excellent education, and had been formed by the moſt able philoſophers of his age. [g] Anaxagoras, who was the firſt that aſcribed human events and the government of the world, not to a blind chance or fatal neceſſity, but to a ſupreme intelligence or mind, which governed and directed all things with the greateſt wiſdom, had thoroughly inſtructed him in natural philoſophy, or phyſicks. This ſtudy had given him an extraordinary force and elevation of mind; and inſtead of the mean and timorous ſuperſtition engendered by ignorance, inſpired him, ſays Plutarch, with a ſolid piety towards the Gods, accompanied with a firm reſolution, and ſure hope of the bleſſings to be expected from them. This ſcience was alſo uſeful to him in his expeditions. For when the fleet of the Athenians was preparing to ſet ſail againſt Peloponneſus, an eclipſe of the ſun hap-

f Plut. in vit. Pericl.

g For this reaſon Anaxagoras was called Νοῦς, intelligence or mind.

pening

pening, Pericles taking notice that the pilot of his own galley was terrified at the ſudden darkneſs, threw his cloak over his eyes, and told him the ſame cauſe hindered him from ſeeing the ſun. He was alſo well verſed in eloquence, which he looked upon as neceſſary to one that would govern and manage the people. [h] The Poets ſaid of him, that he *fulminated, thundered, and ſet all Greece in a ferment*, he excelled ſo much in the art of ſpeaking. He was no leſs prudent and reſerved, than ſtrong and vehement in his diſcourſe; and it is obſerved, that he never ſpoke in publick without praying to the Gods, not to let any expreſſion fall from him, which was not proper to his ſubject. Eupolis ſaid of him, that the goddeſs of perſuaſion ſat upon his lips; and as [i] Thucydides, his adverſary and rival, was one day aſked, who wreſtled beſt, he or Pericles? When I have got him down, ſays he, upon the ground, he maintains the contrary with ſo much force, that he perſuades the ſtanders by to diſbelieve their own eyes, and think that he did not fall.

[k] Such was the adverſary, with whom Cimon was often obliged to contend, when he returned from his glorious campaigns. But as Pericles, from his obliging manner and the force of his eloquence, had made himſelf maſter of the affections of the people, he eaſily got the better of Cimon, and occaſioned his being baniſhed by oſtraciſm. However, within five years he was recalled upon the ill ſtate of the affairs of Athens in regard to the Lacedæmonians; and Pericles ſacrificing his jealouſy to the good of the publick, was not aſhamed to write and carry the decree himſelf, by which his adverſary was recalled. As ſoon as he returned, he reſtored peace, and reconciled the two powers. And to remove from the Athenians, who were puffed up with the good ſucceſs of ſo many victories, all farther inclination or opportunity to fall upon

[h] Ab Ariſtophane Poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiſcere Græciam dictus eſt. Orat. n. 29.

[i] This was not the hiſtorian.

[k] Plut. in vit. Cimon.

their neighbours and allies, he judged it neceſſary to lead them againſt the common enemy, that by this honourable method he might at the ſame time exerciſe and enrich his fellow-citizens. He therefore fitted out a fleet of two hundred ſail. Sixty of theſe he ſent againſt Egypt, and carried the reſt againſt the iſle of Cyprus. He beat the enemies fleet, and whilſt he was laying a ſcheme for the entire deſtruction of the Perſian empire, he received a wound at the ſiege of a city in Cyprus, of which he died. He prudently adviſed the Athenians to retreat in good order and conceal his death. This direction was obſerved, and they ſafely returned home under the conduct and protection of Cimon, though dead above thirty days before. From that time the Greeks never did any thing conſiderable againſt the Barbarians; they fell into diviſions amongſt themſelves, gave the common enemy time to retrieve their affairs, and ruined themſelves with their own forces.

Cimon was generally lamented, and the conſequence ſhewed how great a loſs Greece ſuſtained in his perſon. He was rich and opulent; but, [l] ſays Plutarch, quoting the expreſs words of Gorgias, he was poſſeſſed of a great eſtate only to uſe it, and uſed it only to make himſelf beloved and honoured. [m] Hiſtory relates ſuch things of his liberality, as ſeem incredible to us, they are ſo different from the practice of our own times. His gardens and orchards were always open to the citizens, to take what fruit they liked beſt. He had every day a table frugally ſerved, but with proviſion for a bundance of people, and all the poor in the city had admittance to it. He had conſtantly ſeveral ſervants behind him, with orders to ſlip privately ſome pieces of money into the hands of the poor they ſhould meet, and to give cloaths to ſuch as wanted them. He frequently took care to bury ſuch, as

l Φησὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῆται, χρᾶσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμᾶται.

m Corn. Nep. & Plut. in vit. Cimon.

had

had not left enough to defray the expences of a funeral. And all this was not done to gain the affections and votes of the populace; for we have already obſerved that he declared in favour of the oppoſite faction, the rich and the noble. It is by no means ſurpriſing that a man of his character ſhould be ſo much honoured during his life, and lamented after his death.

From that time, and eſpecially after Thucydides the father-in-law of Cimon was baniſhed by oſtraciſm, there being no body left to balance the authority of Pericles, he had an abſolute power at Athens, diſpoſing of the finances, troops, and fleet, and managing all publick affairs at his ſole diſcretion. He then began to change his conduct, not complying as before with the caprice and fancies of the people, but ſubſtituting inſtead of his former complaiſance and indulgence a more firm and independent manner of government, without however departing in any thing from right reaſon, and the love of the publick good. He often engaged the people by remonſtrances and arguments to ſubmit voluntarily to what he propoſed; but ſometimes alſo by a ſalutary conſtraint he obliged them to conſent to their own advantage; herein imitating the conduct of a wiſe phyſician, who in the courſe of a long illneſs complies ſometimes with the patient's humour, but frequently orders ſuch medicines, as make him ſick and torment him, whilſt they cure him. Finding himſelf therefore at the head of a haughty people, as he had a wonderful dexterity in managing their diſpoſitions, he would, according to different conjunctures, ſometimes employ terror to correct the pride, occaſioned by their good ſucceſſes, and ſometimes hope to re-animate their courage when depreſſed by adverſity; ſhewing that rhetorick, as Plato obſerves, is only the art of inclining and captivating the hearts and underſtandings of others, and that the ſureſt way to ſucceed in it is to know how to make a proper uſe of the paſſions, which ſeldom or never fails of ſucceſs.

What

heaped up immense treasures in the city, h
increase the estate he left behind him.
nal. He also encouraged his friends by in
ornaments, took an exact account of their
of his revenue, and reserved to himself every
superfluous expences, to the great displeas
wife and children, who offered flow and
cence: but to all this vain and frivolous gl
fined the splendid retribution of a willing ag
ber of distressed citizens.

He was no less excellent as a general
statesman. The troops had an entire con
him, and followed him with equal alacri
great maxim in war was not to hazard a
he was sure of all the fruits of success, and to spare
of the citizens. He used to say, that w
power, they should be immortal; that trees
and destroyed might grow up again in time,
that were dead were gone for ever. A vi
tained by a successful temerity, in his opinio
deserve any commendation, though often a
mired. He was so firmly attached to th

curity of his country, and reſolving not to
it of the city againſt the enemy, [p] continued
unſhaken in his reſolution, though ſolicited
oft pre. ng intreaties of ſeveral of his friends,
and accuſed by his enemies, made the ſub-
llads and lampoons, and cenſured as a man
ourage, and a traitor to his country. This
and greatneſs of ſoul is a very neceſſary
ion in the adminiſtration of publick affairs.
ll the n illeary expeditions of Pericles, which
ny in number, c nſtantly ſucceeded to his
nd juſtly acquired him the reputation of a
onſummate in the art of war.

not ſuffer himſelf to be flattered by fortune,
ved the blind ardour of the people, who, elate
many inſtances of good ſucceſs, and haughty
wer which was daily increaſing, meditated
ueſts, projected vaſt ſchemes, and dreamt of
out attacking Egypt again, and ſubduing the
provinces of the Perſian empire. Many
began to caſt their eyes upon Sicily, and in-
unhappy and fatal thoughts of ſending a fleet
; thoughts which Alcibiades ſoon after re-
the entire ruin of Athens. Pericles employ-
ole credit and abilities to ſuppreſs theſe un-
s and reſtleſs diſpoſitions. He rather choſe
e and ſecure the old conqueſts, judging it
to confine the Lacedæmonians within due
who looked upon the power and grandeur of
ith a jealous eye.

randeur was not only ſplendid abroad by
acquired over the enemy, but ſtill more ſo
from the magnificence of the buildings and
herewith Pericles had adorned and embel-
city, which threw ſtrangers into admiration
es, and gave them a great idea of the Athe-
r.

[p] τοῖς αὐτῦ λογισμοῖς, βεβαίᾳ φρονήσει τῶν καταξιούντων νόντων.

'Tis

make them triumph over ages. And it is th
the works of Pericles the more admirable, wh
finiſhed with ſo much rapidity, and notwith
laſted ſo long. For every one of them, as
erected, had the beautiful air of antiquity; a
now, ſays Plutarch, above five hundred ye
they have a certain air of youth and freſhneſs,
juſt come from the hands of the workman;
retain a grace and newneſs, that time canno
guiſh, as though they were animated with i
youth, and a ſoul exempt from age was diffu
through them.

Phidias, the famous ſculptor, was overſee
works. 'Twas he in particular, who made
mous golden ſtatue of Minerva, ſo much eſt
the connoiſſeurs of antiquity. There was a
dible ardour and emulation among the w
Every one ſtrove who ſhould moſt excel, and
talize their names by the excellency of their

What occaſioned the admiration of the who
raiſed a jealouſy againſt Pericles. His enem
inceſſantly crying out in the publick aſſembl
it was a diſhonour to the people to apply to t

Pericles, on the other hand, remonſtrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give an account to their allies of the money they had received; that it was enough that they defended them, and kept the Barbarians at a diſtance, whilſt on their ſide they furniſhed neither ſoldiers, nor horſes, nor ſhips, and were excuſed for certain ſums of money, which as ſoon as paid in were no longer theirs who paid them, but the property of thoſe that received them, provided they performed the conditions for which they were given. He added, that the city being ſufficiently provided with all ſtores neceſſary for war, it was proper to employ the reſt of their wealth in ſuch works, as when finiſhed would procure immortal glory; and whilſt they were in hand, would diffuſe univerſal plenty, and ſubſiſt a great number of citizens. One day, as the complaints ran high againſt him, he offered to take the whole charges upon himſelf, provided the publick inſcriptions might declare that all was done at his expence. At theſe words the people, either thro' admiration of his magnanimity, or unwilling thro' emulation to grant him that glory, cried out, that he might make uſe of the treaſury, to ſupply all the neceſſary expences as freely as he pleaſed.

The enemies of Pericles, not venturing any more to fall directly upon him, accuſed before the people the perſons that were moſt firmly attached to him, Phidias, Aſpaſia, and Anaxagoras. Pericles, who was thoroughly acquainted with the lightneſs and inconſtancy of the Athenians, fearing he ſhould at laſt be obliged to ſink under the machinations and intrigues of his invidious adverſaries, to divert the ſtorm, kindled the Peloponneſian war, which had been ſo long preparing; aſſured that he ſhould thereby put a ſtop to the complaints that were raiſed againſt him, and appeaſe envy; becauſe in ſo preſſing a danger the city would not fail to put the publick affairs into his hands, and ſubmit to his conduct, upon the account of his great power and reputation.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS.

I shall make three; the first upon the charac the persons spoken of in this piece of history; t cond upon ostracism; and the third upon the e tion, which reigned in Greece, and especia Athens, with reference to the politer arts.

I. *Characters of Themistocles, Aristides, C and Pericles.*

We ought not, in my opinion, to pass ov piece of history without asking the pupils wh these four great men they like best, and which c good or ill qualities affect them most, without ing out to them the particular lineaments th tinguish their several characters.

There is something in Themistocles which exceedingly; and the single battle of Salamis, of he had all the honour, gives him a right to glory with the greatest. He there shewed inv courage, a perfect knowledge in the art of w extraordinary greatness of soul, joined to a and moderation which very much enal their esteem lity in the instance of his prevailing w to refuse the general command of t to the Lacedemonians, and his bearing the in treatment of Eurybiades, with a patience and beyond his years.

But what is most admirable in the character c mistocles is, that penetration and presence of which let nothing escape him. After a short an deliberation, he could immediately point out t measures that were to be taken; and was ext dextrous in discerning what was most suitable present occasion; and could foretel by almost in conjectures the events of things. The design and executed of making the Athenians strong

wed he had a ſuperior genius, capable of the great-
views, of looking into futurity, and laying hold
the deciſive point in affairs. As they poſſeſſed
a barren territory, of ſmall extent, he ſaw they
no other means of increaſing their riches and
wer, of making themſelves neceſſary to their allies,
formidable to their enemies. Now this project
y juſtly be conſidered as the ſource and cauſe of
the great events, which afterwards rendered the
ublick of Athens ſo flouriſhing.

But it muſt be owned, the black and perfidious de-
n Themiſtocles propoſed, of burning the Grecian
t in a time of peace to increaſe the Athenian
wer, muſt take off infinitely from the good opinion
ſhould otherwiſe have of him; for, as we have
en obſerved, it is the heart, *i. e.* probity and inte-
ty, which conſtitute and determine real merit.
d ſo the people of Athens judged. I queſtion whe-
r in all hiſtory we have a fact more deſerving our
miration than this. We have not here a body of
iloſopers, who can eaſily lay down excellent max-
s in their ſchools, and teach ſublime rules of mora-
y, to ſhew that the uſeful ought not to take place.
t here an entire people intereſted in the propoſal
ade to them, and admitting it very advantageous
the ſtate, without a moment's heſitation, reject it
nanimouſly, for this only reaſon, becauſe it is unjuſt.

The great talents of Themiſtocles were alſo very
uch ſullied by an exceſſive deſire of glory, and an
bounded ambition, that he could never keep within
t bounds, which led him to oppoſe the merit of all
ch as could diſpute glory with him, occaſioned the
niſhment of Ariſtides, and made him end his days
a diſhonourable manner in a foreign land, and
ongſt the enemies of his country.

[q] PERICLES, when he undertook the management
publick affairs, found the city in the moſt flouriſhing

[q] Cornel. Nepos & Plut.

con ition

haughty citizens, that were become almoſt
ble through proſperity.

He ſupported himſelf at the head of aff
with an almoſt abſolute pow:er, not for a few
a ſmall compaſs of time, but during forty y
he had a great many illuſtrious adverſaries t
with; which is almoſt unexampled. And
cumſtance alone is enough to convince us o
tent, ſuperiority, and force of his genius, th
of his virtue, and the variety of his accompl
eſpecially if we conſider he had to do with
cracy, very jealous, very ſeditious, and abo
perſons of merit. Plutarch ſeems to poin
cauſe, and gives us his character in a few wo
he ſays, that Pericles, like Fabius, made hir
uſeful to his country, by his mildneſs, his ju
the reſolution and patience with which he
imprudent and unjuſt behaviour of his coll
fellow-citizens. His enemies, who durin
took offence at the exceſſive credit he had
were obliged to own after his death, that n
knew better how to temper authority with mo
nor to exalt mildneſs and humanity with a
gravity than him; and his power, which h
their envy againſt him, and was called by th
name of tyranny, ſeemed then to have been

miniſtration, but were ever kept under reſtraint, ever ſuffered to grow up to an exceſs without ly, through licentiouſneſs and impunity.

icles, by the force of his eloquence, and the aſ- nt he had gained over the minds of the people, l times diſconcerted the projects of a war. By 1 means he did a ſignal ſervice to his country; would have ſaved it abundance of misfortunes, had continued the ſame conduct to the end. id honeſt views in ruling, but would rule alone; his led him into baniſhing the beſt ſubjects of publick, and ſuch as were moſt capable of ſerv-, becauſe they were a counter-balance to his au- y. And laſtly, being apprehenſive of the like ient himſelf, and finding his credit daily decline, s own ſecurity he kindled a war, which was at- d with very fatal conſequences to his country.

e magnificent works, wherewith he adorned is, are highly extolled; but I fear not altogether . For was it reaſonable to employ [a] ſuch im- ſums, as were deſigned for the ſupport of the in ſuperfluous buildings and vain decorations? would it not have been better to have eaſed the of a part of their contributions, which under vernment of Pericles were raiſed near one third what they were before?

MON alſo took care to adorn the city. But be- that the money he laid out was part of the he had taken from the enemy, and was not the s blood and ſubſtance of the people; the ex- was very moderate, and confined either to ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary, as the port, the and fortifications of the city; or of very great the citizens; ſuch as the porticoes and publick ; the places of exerciſe, as the academy, the reſidence of the poets, and celebrated retreat philoſophers. This place he took a peculiar

[a] They amounted to above ten millions.

giving largely to all the poor he met with, and
clothes to such as wanted them, and invitin
cessitous citizens of Athens to eat at his table
comparison is there, says Plutarch, between
of Cimon, which was plain, frugal, popula
a small expence fed every day a great numb
tizens; and that of Lucullus, which was mag
ly served, and more worthy of a Persian gra
a citizen of Rome, being designed to gratify
expence the sensuality of some professed del
whose only merit was a nice palate, and dou
art of highly commending the master of the

By his military expeditions Cimon was
glory to the most eminent commanders ar
Greeks; for no body before him ever carr
arms and conquests so far, and to the br
courage he had in common with the rest, h
prudence and moderation, which were of n
vice to his country.

His youth indeed was not unblameable
rest of his life covered, and abundantly mad
for his former faults; and where can we fin
without blemish?

If such a thing were possible among the
it would be the virtue of ARISTIDES. A
ordinary greatness of soul made him superio

bation he gave it. He had a ſhare in all the great ſtories obtained by the Greeks in his time, without ing at all the more haughty on that account. His clination was not to rule in Athens, but to make thens rule. And this he effected, not, as we have eady obſerved, by fitting out great fleets, and ſend- g vaſt armies into the field, but by rendering the vernment of the Athenians amiable to the allies, by s mildneſs, goodneſs, humanity and juſtice. The intereſtedneſs he ſhewed in the management of the blick treaſure, and the love of poverty, which he rried, if I may venture to ſay it, almoſt to an ceſs, are virtues ſo far ſuperior to the practice of r age, that they ſcarce ſeem credible to us. In a ord, and we may hence judge of the real merit of riſtides, if Athens had always been governed by mmanders like him, and had been content to enjoy e honour of being miſtreſs of Greece, and with eſerving the peace and happineſs of her neighbours, e would have been at the ſame time the terror of r enemies, the delight of her allies, and the admi- tion of the whole world.

THEMISTOCLES made no ſcruple to uſe tricking d ſubtlety in compaſſing his deſigns, and was not ways firm and conſtant in his undertakings. But for riſtides, his conduct and principles were always uni- rm, ſtedfaſt in the purſuit of whatever he thought ſt, and incapable of the leaſt falſhood or ſhadow of ttery, diſguiſe or fraud, no not in jeſt.

He had one maxim of the greateſt importance to all ch as would enter into publick employments, who e too apt to rely upon their friends, and their in- igues. And this was, that every true citizen and man probity ſhould place his whole credit in doing and lviſing upon all occaſions whatever was juſt and ho- eſt. He ſpoke thus, from obſerving that the great edit of their friends induced moſt perſons in office abuſe their power, by committing unjuſt actions.

gaged his collegues to do the ſame, by repr
them, that it was not ſhameful, but great an
to ſubmit to ſuperior merit. And by thus
whole authority in a ſingle Chief, he enabl
des to gain a great victory over the Perſia

There is one quality very extraordinary,
longs to all the four great men I have bee
of, and deſerves to be carefully taken not
maſter, and to be pointed out to his ſcholar
is their facility in ſacrificing their own pri
ments to the good of the publick. Their
nothing implacable in it, no rancour,
among the Romans. The ſafety of the S
ciles them without leaving any jealouſy or
it; and far from ſecretly croſſing the d
former rival, every one concurs with zeal
ceſs of his enterprizes, and the advancer
glory.

This quality, this characteriſtick, is on
bleſt, moſt difficult, and moſt ſuperior to
ture, that we meet with in hiſtory; and
ture to ſay, the moſt neceſſary and im
perſons in high ſtations, in whom it is b
mon to obſerve a narrowneſs of ſoul, whi
pleaſed to call great and noble, that puts

t, we ſhall ſee a quite different conduct in the
ns whoſe characters we are now examining.
emiſtocles, not long before the battle of Sa-
, finding the Athenians regretted Ariſtides, and
deſirous of his return, though he was the prin-
author of his baniſhment, made no ſcruple to
l him by a decree in favour of all exiles, which
ed them to return and aſſiſt their country with
counſel, and defend it with their valour.
Ariſtides, thus recalled, went ſome time after to
Themiſtocles in his tent, and gave him an im-
nt piece of advice, upon which the ſucceſs of the
and the ſafety of Greece depended. His diſ-
ſe deſerved to have been engraved in letters of
. "Themiſtocles, ſays he, if we are wiſe, we
ll henceforward lay aſide that vain and childiſh
tention, which has hitherto ſet us at variance;
d by a more noble and uſeful emulation ſtrive
o ſhall take the moſt pains in ſerving our coun-
; you, by commanding and doing the duty of
diſcreet and good officer; and I, by obeying and
iſting you with my perſon and advice." He
communicated to him what he judged neceſſary
e preſent conjuncture. Themiſtocles, aſtoniſhed
s greatneſs of ſoul, and ſo noble a frankneſs of
nents, was aſhamed to be outdone by his rival;
freely owning it, promiſed from thenceforth to
te his generous examp'e, and if poſſible exceed
his future conduct. Nor did all theſe profeſſions
n mere compliment, but were made good by
ant effects: And Plutarch obſerves, that during
/hole time Themiſtocles commanded, "Ariſti-
ſiſted him upon every occaſion with his advice
redit, joyfully taking pains to promote the glory
greateſt enemy through the motive of advancing
ublick good. And when afterwards the diſgrace

erod. lib. 8. Plut. in vit. Θέμιν, ὑπεξέτιλεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ
ſt. & Ariſtid. καὶ φρονῆσαι τὸν ἔχθιστον. Plut. in
λέλα συνίεσαν καὶ συν- vit. Ariſtid.

we find any thing elſewhere which may j
compared with this noble and generous beha
Ariſtides? * It is deſervedly admired as on
moſt beautiful circumſtances in the life of A
that he employed all his abilities and care to
the glory of his Generals; but here it was to
that of the greateſt enemy. How far ſup
merit?

We have alſo in Cimon a great inſtanc
virtue I am deſcribing; who being actually
by oſtraciſm, came notwithſtanding to take
in his tribe to fight againſt the Lacedæmoni
till then had been conſtantly his friends,
whom he ſtood charged of holding private inte
And when his enemies had obtained an or
the publick Council, to forbid his going to th
he withdrew, and conjured his friends to ap
innocence and their own by their actions.
took the armour of Cimon, placed it in
and fought with ſo much valour, that the
of them loſt their lives, leaving the Athenian
moſt regret for their loſs, and ſeverely repen
unjuſt accuſations they had thrown upon th

The Athenians, upon the loſs of a con
battle, recalled Cimon; and Pericles himſel

oſed the decree, by which he was recalled,
ne had before contributed more than any
his baniſhment. Upon which Plutarch
beautiful reflection, that wholly confirms all
ave advanced upon this ſubject. Pericles,
uſed his whole intereſt to bring back his
ſo much were the quarrels of the citizens
ated by the views of the publick advantage,
eir animoſities always ready to be laid aſide
as the good of the State required it; and
h did their ambition, which is the moſt live-
moſt violent of paſſions, conform and give
the neceſſities and intereſts of their country."
pon his return, without complaining of his
l uſage or taking much upon him, and with-
ng to prolong a war, which made him ne-
his country, readily executed the ſervice ex-
om him, and immediately procured the peace
l.

thing more clearly diſcovers the inward ſen-
Pericles, his good-nature and averſion to all
nd revenge, than an expreſſion which fell
a little before his death. His friends were
und him as he lay ſick, and not thinking
heard them, were talking amongſt them-
commendation of his government, and the
hies he had gained, when he interrupted
d wondered, he ſaid, they ſhould dwell ſo
on matters in which fortune had ſo great a
d were common to him with many other ge-
d forget the greateſt and moſt beautiful cir-
e of his life, that no Athenian had ever wore
r on his account.

veral particulars I have here mentioned con-
he four great men, who were the ornaments
henian republick, may in my opinion be
ul, not only to ſuch young perſons, as are
to fill conſiderable places in the State, but to
all conditions whatſoever. For they let us

ſee, how low and mean-ſpirited it is to be envious and jealous of the virtue and reputation of others; and on the other hand how noble and generous to value, love, and commend the merit of our equals, colleagues, competitors, and even enemies, if we have any. And theſe paſſages of hiſtory ſhould make the greater impreſſion upon us, as they are not the ſpeculative leſſons of philoſophers, but duties reduced to practice.

II. *Of Oſtraciſm.*

Oſtraciſm was a ſentence among the Athenians, by which they condemned any one to a kind of baniſhment that was to laſt ten years, unleſs that term was leſſened by the people. The conſent of ſix thouſand citizens at leaſt was required for a condemnation of this kind. They gave their vote by writing the name of the perſon upon a ſhell, in Greek called ὄστρακον, from whence came the name of oſtraciſm. This kind of baniſhment was not inflicted as a puniſhment for any crime, nor conſidered as infamous; y the moſt illuſtrious citizens, and often men of the greateſt probity, were expoſed to it. I do not here take upon me plead or apologize in behalf of oſtraciſm, which, as it may be conſidered under different views, may likewiſe occaſion very different judgments. As this law ſeemed only deſigned againſt virtue, and to be ſevere upon merit, 'tis no wonder, that in this view it ſhould appear extremely odious and offenſive to every rational man. This induced Valerius Maximus to charge this cuſtom as the folly and extravagance of the publick in puniſhing the greateſt virtues as criminal, and repaying the ſervices done to the State with baniſhment. z *Quid obeſt quin publica dementia ſit exiſtimanda, ſumma conſenſu maximas virtutes quaſi gravisſima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere?*

y Miltiades, Cimon, Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, &c. z Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3.

Without

Without attempting therefore abſolutely to juſtify oſtraciſm, I ſhall enquire a little into the reaſons of it, and examine the advantages that may ariſe from it. For I cannot imagine, that ſo wiſe a republick, as that of Athens, would have ſo long ſuffered and authorized a cuſtom founded only upon injuſtice and violence. And what confirms me in this opinion is, that when this law was abrogated at Athens, it was not done becauſe it was unjuſt; but becauſe having taken place in the caſe of a citizen deſpiſed by all the world (he was named Hyperbolus, and lived in the time of Nicias and Alcibiades) [a] 'twas thought that oſtraciſm, degraded by this example, would ever after be a diſhonour to a man of probity, and injurious to his reputation.

[b] Thus we ſee, that Tully does not condemn this law with the ſame ſeverity as Valerius Maximus; and that pleading againſt the baniſhment of Sextius, though it was his intereſt to decry all baniſhments, he contents himſelf with accuſing the Athenians of lightneſs and temerity. Plutarch ſpeaks of it in ſeveral places in a very favourable manner, at leaſt without cenſure or reproach, as we ſhall ſee by and by. And this inclines me to believe that Valerius Maximus judged very ſuperficially of this law, and was too eaſily prejudiced by ſome inconveniencies attending it, without conſidering thoroughly the advantages that might ariſe from it. We ſhall therefore now examine what thoſe advantages might be.

1. It was a very uſeful barrier againſt tyranny in a ſtate purely democratical, where liberty, which is the ſoul and ſovereign law of it, cannot ſubſiſt, but by equality. 'Twas difficult for the people not to be

[a] Ἐκ τούτου δυσχερείας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ φρόνημα καὶ φορητηλακισμένον, ἀφῆκε φαυλότητος, καὶ κατέλυσεν. Plut. in Ariſt.

[b] Apud Athenienſes, homines Græcos, longè à noſtrorum hominum gravitate diſjunctos, non deerant qui rempublicam contra populi temeritatem defenderent, cum omnes, qui ita fecerant, è civitate expelleretur. Pro Sext. n. 14, 1.

ſuſpicious of the power of ſuch citizens, as had raiſed themſelves above the reſt, [c] and whoſe ambition, ſo natural to mankind, gave a juſt alarm to a republick extremely jealous of its independency. It was proper to take meaſures at a diſtance for bringing them back into the ſphere, from whence their great abilities or great ſervices ſeemed to have removed them. [d] They had ſtill in remembrance the tyranny of Piſiſtratus and his children, who had been only private citizens like the reſt. They had Epheſus, Thebes, Corinth, Syracuſe, and almoſt all the cities of Greece before their eyes, which were all brought under ſubjection to tyrants at a time when the citizens were under no apprehenſions of loſing their liberty. And who could be ſure, that Themiſtocles, Ephialtes, the elder Demoſthenes, Alcibiades, and even Cimon and Pericles, would have refuſed to reign at Athens, if they had been capable of attempting it, as Pauſanias and Lyſander did at Lacedæmon, and ſo many others in their republick, and as Cæſar did at Rome?

2. This ſort of baniſhment had nothing ſhameful or ignominious in it. It is not, ſays Plutarch, a puniſhment for crimes and miſdemeanors, but a precaution judged neceſſary againſt a pride and power, which became formidable; it was a mild and gentle remedy againſt that envy, which is apt to form jealouſies and ſuſpicions of too great merit; and in a word, a certain means of ſettling the minds of the people at eaſe, without carrying them to any violence againſt the party baniſhed. For he preſerved the enjoyment and diſpoſal of his eſtate; poſſeſſed all the rights and privileges of a citizen, with the hope of being reſtored within a fixed time, which might be abridged by abundance of incidents. So that the engagements, which tied the baniſhed man to his country

[c] Τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς, καὶ σφὸς φθόνον δημοτικὸν ἀσύμμετρον. Plut. in vit. Themiſt.

[d] Athenienſes, propter Piſiſtrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis ante fuerat, omnium civium ſuorum potentiam extimeſcebant. Corn. Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

were

were not broken by the oſtraciſm; he was not driven to deſpair, nor forced upon extremities. Thus we ſee by the event, that neither Ariſtides, Cimon, or even Themiſtocles, or any of the reſt, entered into engagements againſt their country, but on the contrary always continued faithful and zealous for it. Whereas the Romans, for the want of ſuch a law, extorted imprecations from Camillus againſt his country, engaged Coriolanus to take up arms againſt it, as Sertorius did afterwards againſt his inclination. They came at laſt to declare a citizen an enemy to the ſtate, as in the caſe of Cæſar, Mark Antony, and ſeveral other; after which there was no remedy but in deſpair, nor any aſſurance of their own preſervation but in violence and open war.

3. By this law the Athenians were alſo preſerved from the civil wars, which ſo much diſturbed and ſhook the commonwealth of Rome. With ſuch a law as this the Gracchi would not have been aſſaſſinated. The Romans might perhaps have ſpared themſelves the wars of Marius and Sylla, of Cæſar and Pompey, and the fatal conſequences of the triumvirate. But as Rome wanted this mild and humane remedy, [a] as Plutarch phraſes it, ſo proper to calm, ſoften, and aſſwage envy; whenever the two factions of the ſenate and people were a little enflamed, there was nothing left, but to decide the quarrel by arms and violence. And this at laſt drew upon Rome the loſs of her liberty.

Perhaps therefore we may have good reaſon to differ in our judgment concerning this law from Valerius Maximus and ſome others, who were offended only at the abuſe of it, without fully examining into the real motives of its eſtabliſhment and its advantages, and without conſidering that there is no law ſo good, but it may have its inconveniencies in the application.

[a] Παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος φθόνου ἡ κατάσασις.

III. *Emulation in arts and ſciences.*

Diodorus Siculus, in the preface to the twelfth book of his hiſtory, makes a very judicious reflection upon the times and events I have now been ſpeaking of. He obſerves that Greece was never threatened with greater danger, than when Xerxes, after having ſubdued all the Aſiatick Greeks, brought againſt it ſuch a formidable army, as ſeemed to make the ſame fate an inevitable event. And yet it was never more glorious or triumphant than after the expedition of Xerxes, which, properly ſpeaking, was the epocha from whence to date the proſperity of Greece, and was in particular the occaſion and origin of that glory which made the name of Athens ſo famous. For the following fifty years produced in that city a multitude of men eminent in every kind of merit, in arts, ſciences, war, government and politicks.

To confine myſelf here only to arts and ſciences, what carried them in ſo ſhort a time to ſo high a degree of perfection, was the rewards and diſtinctions beſtowed on ſuch as excelled in them, which kindled an incredible emulation amongſt the men of letters and excellent artiſts.

Cimon, returning from a glorious campaign, brought back with him to Athens the bones of Theſeus. To preſerve the memory of this event, the people propoſed a prize to be contended for by the tragick poets, which became very famous. Judges choſen by lot were to determine the merit of the performances, and adjudge the crown to the conqueror, amidſt the commendations and applauſes of the whole aſſembly. But the archon obſerving there was great caballing and partiality among the ſpectators, nominated Cimon himſelf and nine other generals to be judges. Sophocles, who was then but young, preſented his firſt piece, and gained the prize from Æ-chylus, who till then had been the honour of the-tre,

theatre, and inconteſtably the beſt writer. He was unable to ſurvive his glory, left Athens, and retired into Sicily, where he ſoon after died of grief. As to Sophocles, his reputation continually increaſed, and never left him, not even in his extreme old age. His children ſoliciting for a judgment againſt him, as being ſuperannuated, inſtead of a defence, he read before the judges a piece he had lately finiſhed, entitled *Oedipus Coloneus*, and unanimouſly gained his cauſe.

The glory of carrying the prize in theſe diſputes, where all ſorts of perſons took pains to produce ſomething extraordinary, was held ſo diſtinguiſhed an honour, as to become the object of the ambition of Princes, as we learn from the hiſtory of the two Dionyſius's of Syracuſe.

[f] 'Twas a glorious day and the moſt affecting delight to Herodotus, when all Greece aſſembled at the Olympick games declared, whilſt they heard him read his hiſtory, that they thought they heard the Muſes ſpeaking by his mouth; which occaſioned the nine books of his work being called by the name of the nine Muſes. And the caſe was the ſame with the orators and poets, who ſpoke their orations, and read their poems there in publick. How great a ſpur to glory muſt the applauſes have been, which were received before the eyes and with the acclamations of almoſt all the people of Greece?

There was no leſs emulation amongſt the artiſans of merit; and this was the reaſon, that under Pericles all arts were carried in a ſo ſhort time to the higheſt degree of perfection.

[g] 'Twas he that built the Odêon, or theatre of muſick, and made the decree, by which it was ordained, that the games and diſputes for prizes of muſick ſhould be celebrated on the feaſt of the Panathenæa; and being choſen the judge and diſtri-

[f] Lucian. in Herodot. [g] Plut. in vit. Pericl.

buter

buter of the prizes, he thought it no diſhonour to regulate and aſſign the laws and conditions of this kind of diſputes.

[h] Who has not heard of the name of Phidias, and the fame of his works? This celebrated ſculptor, who was more ſenſible of glory than intereſt, ventured, notwithſtanding the extreme delicacy of the Athenians in this particular, to inſert his name, or at leaſt the reſemblance of his countenance, on a famous ſtatue; as judging he could have no better recompence for all his labour than to ſhare an immortality with it, whereof he had been the author and cauſe.

We know with what ardour the painters entered the liſts againſt one another, and how eagerly they diſputed for the prize. Their works were expoſed in publick, and judges that were alike excellent and uncorruptible adjudged the victory to the moſt deſerving.

Parrhaſius and Zeuxis contended in this manner with each other. The latter had drawn grapes ſo exactly alike, that the birds came and pecked at them. The other had drawn a curtain. Zeuxis, proud of the mighty ſuffrage of the birds, with an inſulting air bid him draw aſide his curtain, and ſhew what he had done. [i] He ſoon found his miſtake, and yielded the palm to his rival, ingenuouſly confeſſing himſelf conquered, for he had only deceived the birds, whereas Parrhaſius had deceived him, as great a maſter as he was in the art.

What I have obſerved of the paſſion, excited by a ſingle man in Athens for arts and ſciences, may ſhew us of what ſervice emulation may be to a ſtate, when applied to things uſeful to the publick, and reſtrained and kept within juſt bounds. How great an honour has Greece derived from the great artiſts and learned men ſhe produced in ſuch abundance, whoſe works, ſuperior to the injury of time and malignity of envy,

h Plut. in vit. Pericl.

i Intellecto errore, conceſſit palmam ingenuo pudore, quoniam ipſe volucres ſefelliſſet, Parrhaſius autem ſe artificem. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.

are

are ſtill looked upon, and ever will be, as the rule of a good taſte and model of perfection? Honours and rewards annexed to merit rouze and awaken induſtry, animate the ſoul, and raiſe mankind as it were from ſtupefaction and lethargy, and in a ſhort time fill a kingdom with illuſtrious perſons of every kind. The late M. Colbert, miniſter of ſtate, ſet apart forty thouſand crowns a year to be diſtributed among ſuch as excelled in any art or ſcience; and he often told [k] ſome that were admitted to an intimacy with him, upon whoſe intelligence and recommendation he relied in this particular, that if there was a man of merit in the kingdom that ſuffered, or was in want, it was to be charged upon their conſciences, who would be anſwerable for it. Such expences as theſe never ruin a ſtate; and a miniſter, who has a ſincere love for his Prince and country, can ſcarce ſerve them better, than by procuring them ſuch ineſtimable advantages, and ſo laſting a glory, at ſo ſmall an expence. For, as [l] Horace has ſaid upon another occaſion, when men of probity are under any neceſſity, friends may be purchaſed at a cheap rate;

Vilis amicorum eſt annona, bonis ubi quid deeſt.

The third Piece extracted from the Grecian Hiſtory.

Of the Lacedæmonian Government.

THERE is nothing perhaps in all profane hiſtory better atteſted, nor at the ſame time more incredible, than the Lacedæmonian government and the diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus. This wiſe le-

[k] M. Perrault, & M. l'Abbé Gallois. [l] Hor. lib. 1. Ep. 12.

giſlator

giſlator was ſon to one of the two Kings of Sparta, who governed jointly; and might eaſily have obtained the crown, if he had pleaſed, upon the death of his elder brother, who left no male iſſue behind him. But he thought himſelf obliged to wait till the Queen his ſiſter was brought to bed, who was then with child: and upon her happy delivery, he took upon him to be tutor and guardian to the infant againſt the attempts of its own mother, who had offered to make away with her ſon, if Lycurgus would marry her.

He formed the bold deſign of thoroughly reforming the Lacedæmonian government; and that he might be the better enabled to make wiſe regulations in it, he judged it expedient to take ſeveral journeys to inform himſelf perſonally of the different manners of nations, and adviſe with ſuch perſons as were beſt ſkilled and moſt experienced in the arts of government. He began with the iſle of Crete, which was famous for its rigid and ſevere laws; from thence he paſſed into Aſia, where the oppoſite extreme prevailed; and laſtly, he went into Egypt, the ſeat of the ſciences, wiſdom, and good counſel.

His long abſence ſerved only to make him the more deſired by his citizens; and the Kings themſelves preſſed him to return, as being ſenſible they ſtood in need of his authority to keep the people within the bounds of duty and obedience. At his return to Sparta, he took pains to change the whole form of the government, upon a perſuaſion that ſome particular laws would produce no great effect. He began with gaining over the principal men of the city, to whom he communicated his views; and being fully aſſured of their concurrence, he came into the publick aſſembly, attended by a body of ſoldiers, to terrify and intimidate all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe his deſign.

The new form of government he introduced at Lacedæmon, may be reduced to three principal inſtitutions.

THE

THE FIRST INSTITUTION. *The Senate.*

The greateſt and moſt conſiderable of all the new
itutions of Lycurgus was that of the ſenate, which,
Plato obſerves, tempering the too abſolute power
he Kings by an authority equal to theirs, was the
ıcipal cauſe of the ſafety of the ſtate. For whereas
ore it was always tottering, ſometimes inclining to-
ds tyranny through the violence of their Kings,
ſometimes to a democracy through the too ab-
te power of the people; this ſenate ſerved as a
nterpoiſe to keep it in equilibrium, and give it a
ı and certain ſituation; [m] the eight and twenty ſe-
ors, of which it was compoſed, adhering to the
ıgs, when the people were for aſſuming too much
'er; and going over on the other hand to the ſide
he people, whenever the Kings attempted to carry
r authority too high.

Lycurgus having thus qualified the government,
ſe who came after him found the power of the
ty, who compoſed the ſenate, ſtill too ſtrong and
erful; for which reaſon they gave it a curb, by
oſing the authority of the [n] ephori to it above an
dred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The ephori
e five in number, and continued but one year in
:e. They had a right to arreſt the Kings, and
ımit them to priſon, as happened in the caſe of
ſanias. Theſe ephori were firſt inſtituted under
ıg Theopompus. And as his wife reproached him
ı leaving his children a far leſs authority than he
received, *No*, [o] ſays he, *I ſhall leave them a much
ter, as it will be more laſting.*

[m] This council conſiſted of thirty ns, including the two Kings.

[n] That is, comptrollers, inſpec-

[o] Μείζω μὲν ἔγε, εἶπεν, ὅσῳ χρο-
νιώτερον.

THE

tants of the country were ſo poor, that th
an inch of ground belonging to them,
wealth lay in the hands of a few priv
That he might therefore baniſh inſole
fraud, and luxury from the government
other evils, ſtill greater and of longer ſta
theſe, I mean indigence and exceſſive rich
ſuaded all the citizens to give up their la
mon, and to make a new diſtribution of
they might live together in a perfect equ
out any other preheminence and honour
was given to virtue and merit.

This was immediately done. He divide
of Laconia into thirty thouſand parts, wh
tributed amongſt the people of the country
nine thouſand parts of the territory of Sp
he diſtributed amongſt ſo many citizens.
that ſome years after, as Lycurgus was retu
a long journey, and croſſing the lands
which had juſt been reaped, obſerving t
the ſheaves to be perfectly equal, he turn
thoſe that followed him, and ſaid to the
Is not Laconia like the inheritance of ſever
who have juſt divided it between them?

After he had thus divided their immove

ver money, and ordered that only iron money ould be in uſe; and this he made ſo heavy, and of little value, that a man muſt have a cart with two en to carry the ſum of ten * *minæ*, and a whole amber to lock it up in.

Further, he drove all uſeleſs and ſuperfluous arts om Sparta, which indeed, if he had not done, moſt them muſt have dropt of themſelves, and been ft with the old money; for the artificers would not ave known what to have done with their work; and is iron money was not current in the other parts of reece, where inſtead of ſetting a value upon it, they nly laughed at it, and made it the ſubject of their illery.

THE THIRD INSTRUCTION. *Publick meals.*

Lycurgus, reſolving to make a ſtill more vigorous ar upon ſoftneſs and luxury, and entirely to root up ie love of riches, made a third inſtitution, relating to eals. That he might baniſh thence all coſtlineſs id magnificence, he ordered that the citizens ſhould l dine together upon the ſame victuals which were reſcribed by the law, and expreſly prohibited them om eating in their own private houſes.

By this inſtitution of common meals, and a frugal nplicity in diet, we may ſay that he changed in a anner the nature of riches, † by leaving nothing in iem to make them deſirable, or likely to be ſtolen, r even capable of enriching thoſe who poſſeſſed them; or there was no longer any opportunity of uſing or njoying their wealth, nor even of making a ſhew of , ſince the poor and rich were to eat together in the me place; and no one was allowed to come into the ommon halls, after having ſatisfied his hunger with ther food; for whoever refuſed to eat and drink, as carefully marked out, and reproached with his in-

* Five hundred livres. δὶ ἀξιλον, καὶ ἁπλωτον ἀντιςγάσατο.
† Τὸν πλοῦτον ἄσπλον, μάλλον Plut.

temperance

temperance or too great delicacy, which induced him to deſpiſe theſe publick meals.

The rich were extremely incenſed at this inſtitution, and it was upon this occaſion in a popular inſurrection, that a young man named Alcander ſtruck out one of Lycurgus's eyes with a cudgel. The people enraged at ſuch a violence gave up the young man into Lycurgus's hand, who well knew how to be revenged of him, for he treated him with ſo much mildneſs and good nature, that from being very hot and paſſionate, he ſoon brought him to be very calm and diſcreet.

The tables contained each about fifteen perſons, and before any one could be admitted, he muſt be agreeable to the reſt of the company. Every one ſent in monthly a buſhel of meal, eight meaſures of wine, five pounds of cheeſe, two pounds and an half of figs, and ſome ſmall matter of their money for the dreſſing and ſeaſoning of the proviſions. Every one was obliged to be preſent at the publick meal; and King Agis a long while after, returning from a glorious expedition, and diſpenſing with himſelf from doing ſo, that he might dine with the Queen his wife, was reprimanded and puniſhed. Children were allowed alſo to be preſent at theſe meals, and were brought thither as to a ſchool of wiſdom and temperance. There they heard grave diſcourſes upon government, and ſaw nothing but what was inſtructive. The converſation was often enlivened by refined wit and raillery, but ſuch as was never low or ſhocking; and as ſoon as any one was perceived to grow uneaſy at it, they always left off. Here alſo they learned to keep a ſecret; and when a young man entered the hall, the eldeſt would ſay to him, pointing to the door, *Nothing of what is ſaid here, goes out there.*

The moſt elegant part of their food was what they called *The black broth*, and the old men preferred it to whatever elſe was ſerved up to table. [r] Dionyſius the

[r] Ubi cùm tyrannus cænaviſſet, Dionyſius, negavit ſe jure illo nigro, quod cœnæ caput erat, delectatum. Tum is, qui illa coxerat: Minimè

ne Tyrant, being invited to one of theſe entertainments, ſeemed to think quite otherwiſe of it, and thought it a very inſipid ragout. I do not wonder at that, ſays the perſon who made it, for there wanted the ſeaſoning. What ſeaſoning? replies the tyrant. The chace, ſweat, fatigue, hunger and thirſt. For with theſe, adds the cook, we ſeaſon our proviſions.

IV. Other Institutions.

Lycurgus looked upon the education of children as the moſt important concern of a Legiſlator. 'Twas his great principle that they belonged more properly to the State, than their parents; and for this reaſon he would not ſuffer them to be brought up as they pleaſed, but obliged the publick to take care of their education, that they might be formed upon conſtant and uniform principles, and early inſpired with the love of virtue and their country.

As ſoon as a child was born, 'twas viſited by the elders of every tribe; and if they found it well made, ſtrong and lively, they ordered it to be brought up, and aſſigned it one of the nine thouſand portions for its inheritance. If on the other hand they found it ill-ſhaped, tender and weakly, and judged it to want health and ſtrength, they condemned it to periſh, and cauſed it to be expoſed.

Children were early accuſtomed not to be difficult or nice about their victuals; not to be afraid in the dark; not to be frighted at their being left alone; not to be peeviſh, brawling, or crying; to walk barefoot; to enure themſelves to fatigue; [a] to lie upon the bare ground; to wear the ſame clothes in winter as in ſummer, to harden themſelves againſt heat and cold.

Minimè mirum, inquit; condimenta enim defuerunt. Quæ tandem, inquit ille? Labor in venatu, ſudor, curſus ab Eurota, fames, ſitis. His enim rebus Lacedæmoniorum epulæ condiuntur. Tuſcul. quæſt. 5. n. 98.

[a] Xenophon de Lacedæm. republic.

At ſeven years old they were diſtributed int
where they were all brought up together un
ſame diſcipline. [t] Their education properly ſp
was no more than an apprenticeſhip to obedience
Legiſlator being thoroughly convinced that the
means of forming citizens ſubmiſſive to the law
magiſtrates, in which the good order and happin
a State conſiſts, was to teach children from the
fancy to be perfectly obedient to their maſters.

Whilſt they were at table, the maſter propoſed q
tions to the boys. As for inſtance, *Who is the beſt*
in the city? What ſay you to ſuch an action? T
anſwer was expected to be ready, and attended w
a reaſon and proof conceived in a few words; for th
early accuſtomed them to the Laconick ſtile, i.e.
a ſhort and conciſe one. Lycurgus required that t
money ſhould be very heavy and of ſmall value; a
that their diſcourſe on the contrary ſhould expreſs
great deal in a little compaſs.

As to letters, they learned no more than was abſo
lutely neceſſary. All the ſciences were baniſhed the
country. Their ſtudy was only how to obey, to en
dure labour and fatigue, and to conquer in battle
One of the moſt worthy and moſt capable citizens pr
ſided over their education, and appointed each cla
ſuch maſters as were generally eſteemed for wiſdo
and probity.

Theft was not only not prohibited the boys, b
even commanded; I mean theft of a particular kin
which properly ſpeaking had no more of it but t
name. I ſhall explain in my reflections the reaſo
and views of Lycurgus in allowing it. They crept t
moſt dextrouſly and cunningly they could into t
gardens and publick halls, and carried off what he
r victuals they were able; if they were diſcovere
ey were puniſhed for want of ſkill. 'Tis ſaid, th
e of them having ſtole a young fox, hid it under l
thes, and let it tear into his belly with its teeth a

[t] Ὡς τὴν παιδείαν οὖσαν μεγίστην τυραννίδα.

claws, without crying out, till he fell down dead upon the ſpot.

The patience and reſolution of the Lacedæmonian youth were put to the ſevereſt trial upon the celebration of a feaſt in honour of Diana ſurnamed *Orthia*, [t] when the children in the ſight of their parents, and in preſence of the whole city, ſuffered themſelves to be laſhed till the blood ran down upon the altar of that inhuman Goddeſs, and ſometimes expired under the blows, without crying out, or ſo much as uttering a groan. [w] And their own fathers, who ſtood by and ſaw them covered all over with blood and wounds, were the perſons who exhorted them to hold out conſtantly to the end. Plutarch aſſures us, that he ſaw ſeveral children with his own eyes loſe their lives in this cruel diverſion. Hence [x] Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man, who had endured three good blows of a cudgel without complaining, ſay, *Tres plagas Spartanâ nobilitate concoxi.*

The moſt uſual employment of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and the different exerciſes of the body. They were prohibited the exerciſe of any mechanical art. The Ilotes, who were a kind of ſlaves, cultivated their lands, and paid them a certain revenue for them.

'Twas Lycurgus's will that his citizens ſhould have a great deal of leiſure. They had common halls, where they met together for converſation. And though their diſcourſe frequently turned upon grave and ſerious ſubjects, it was ſeaſoned with a wit and an agreeableneſs, which inſtructed and corrected, whilſt it di-

[t] Spartæ pueri ad aram ſic verberibus accipiuntur, ut multus è viſceribus ſanguis exeat, nonnunquam etiam, ut cùm ibi eſſem audiebam, ad necem: quorum non modò nemo exclamavit unquam, ſed ne ingemuit quidem. Cic. lib. 2. Tuſc. quæſt. n. 34.

[w] Ipſi illos patres adhortantur, ut ictus flagellorum fortiter perferant, & lacertos ac ſemianimes rogant, perſeverent vulnera præbere vulneribus. Senec. de Provid. cap. 4.

[x] Od. 7. lib. 1.

verte

verted them. They were ſeldom alone; but we accuſtomed to live like bees, in ſwarms, and alwa around their chiefs. [y] The love of their country a the common good was their prevailing paſſion. Th thought they were not to live for themſelves, but f their country. Pedaretus not having had the hono of being choſen one of the three hundred, who h a certain place of diſtinction in the city, returned ho very chearful and eaſy, ſaying, *he was overjoyed to there were three hundred better men in Sparta than ſelf.*

Every thing at Sparta inſpired the love of virtue, hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their verſations, and even the publick inſcriptions. It hard for men, brought up in the midſt of ſo many cepts and living examples, not to become as virt as Pagans could be. It was to preſerve this h habitude in them, that Lycurgus did not allo ſorts of perſons to travel, leſt they ſhould return foreign manners, and licentious cuſtoms, which w ſoon have inſpired them with a diſguſt for the life maxims of Lacedæmon. He likewiſe expelled al reigners the city, who came only for curioſity, not out of ſome uſeful or profitable intention; ap hending that they might bring with them the f and vices of their country; and fully convinced it was more important and neceſſary to ſhut the of the city againſt corruption of manners, than ag plagues and peſtilence.

Properly ſpeaking, the buſineſs and exerciſe o Lacedæmonians was war. Every thing had a ten cy that way, and breathed nothing but arms. T manner of life was far leſs rigid in the field, tha home; and they were the only people in the w to whom war was a ſeaſon of repoſe and refreſhm becauſe then the obligations to that hard and ſe

[y] τὴν τῶν πολίτων μικροῦ σιασμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, δεῖν ἐξεστὰς ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐνθου· εἶναι τῆς πατρίδος.

diſcipl

pline, which they obſerved at Sparta, were ſome-
t relaxed, and greater liberty allowed them.
h them the firſt and moſt inviolable law of war,
Demaratus told Xerxes, was never to turn their
:s, how far ſuperior ſoever in number the enemy
ht be; never to quit their poſt; never to ſurrender
r arms; in a word, to conquer or die. [a] And hence
as, that a mother adviſed her ſon, who was ſet-
; out for a campaign, to return with his buckler, or
n his buckler; and another hearing that her ſon
s ſlain in battle in defence of his country, replied
dly, [b] *'Twas for that end I brought him into the*
ld. And this was the common diſpoſition of the
cedæmonians. [c] After the famous battle of Leuctra,
ich was ſo fatal to them, the parents of thoſe who
:e killed in fighting congratulated one another, and
to the temples to thank the Gods, becauſe their
ldren had done their duty; whereas the parents of
ſe, who ſurvived the defeat, were inconſolable.
:h as fled were ever after infamous at Sparta. They
:e not only excluded all offices and employments,
aſſemblies, and ſhews, but it was a diſgrace to
ry a daughter to them, or take a daughter from
n, and they were publickly affronted upon every
aſion without any remedy for the injury offered.
They never went to battle, till they had implored
aſſiſtance of the Gods by ſacrifices and publick
yers, and then they marched againſt the enemy in
confidence, as being thoroughly aſſured of the
ine protection, or to uſe the expreſſion of Plutarch,
if God were preſent, and fought with them;
τῷ Θεῷ συμπαρόντι.

When they had broke their enemies, and put them
light, they purſued them no farther than was ne-

[a] Herod. lib. 6. Ἀλλη προσαναδιδοῦσα τῷ παιδὶ ἀσπίδα, καὶ παρακελευομένη. ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς. Plut. virtut. mulier. They ſometimes brought back ſuch as were ſlain upon their bucklers.

[b] Cic. lib. Tuſc. Queſt. n. 102.

[c] Plut. in vit. Ageſ.

ceſſary to ſecure the victory; after which they retired, as judging it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces ſuch as yielded, or made no reſiſtance. And this was no leſs uſeful than honourable to them; for their enemies knowing that all who oppoſed were put to the ſword, and that only ſuch as ran away eſcaped, generally preferred flight to reſiſtance.

After the firſt inſtitutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by uſe, and the form of government he had eſtabliſhed ſeemed ſtrong enough to ſupport itſelf without any other aſſiſtance; [a] as Plato ſays of God, that having finiſhed the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he ſaw it firſt move with ſuch harmony and exactitude; ſo this wiſe legiſlator, charmed with the grandeur and beauty of his laws, found a double ſatisfaction in ſeeing them ſubſiſt alone and make ſo happy a progreſs.

But deſiring to make them as immortal and unchangeable as human prudence would admit, he told the people there was one point ſtill remaining, more important and eſſential than all the reſt, about which he would conſult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he obliged them all by an oath to keep up the form of government he had eſtabliſhed, till ſuch time as he ſhould return. When he came to Delphos, he enquired of the God, whether his laws were good, and tended to make the Spartans happy and virtuous. Apollo anſwered, that his laws were perfect; and that ſo long as Sparta ſhould obſerve them, it would be the moſt glorious city in the world, and enjoy entire felicity. Lycurgus ſent this anſwer to Sparta, and judging his miniſtry accompliſhed, he died voluntarily at Delphos, by abſtaining from food. He was of opinion, that the death of great men and miniſters ſhould not be inſignificant or uſeleſs to the commonwealth,

[a] This paſſage of Plato is in his Timæus, and there is reaſon to believe (as he has great what Moſes ſays of God, upon the creation of the world. Vidit Deus hæc quæ fecerat, & erant valde bona. Gen. i. 31.

but a conſequence of their adminiſtration, one of their moſt conſiderable actions, and as honourable, if not more ſo, than all the reſt of their lives. He thought therefore, to die in this manner would be confirming and crowning all the ſervices he had done his fellow-citizens during his life, as his death would oblige them to obſerve his ordinances for ever, which they had ſworn to obſerve inviolably till his return.

The heathen were generally of opinion, that every man had a right to put himſelf to death, whenſoever he pleaſed.

REFLECTIONS *upon the government of Sparta, and the laws of Lycurgus.*

I. *Things laudable in the laws of Lycurgus.*

Were we to judge only by the event, there muſt have been a large fund of wiſdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus, ſince ſo long as they were obſerved at Sparta, which was for above five hundred years, that city was ſo powerful and flouriſhing. They were, ſays [e] Plutarch, ſpeaking of the laws of Sparta, leſs a form of government and civil adminiſtration, than the conduct and rules of a wiſe man, who paſſes his whole life in the exerciſes of virtue. Or rather, adds the ſame author, as the poets feign of Hercules, that with his lion's ſkin and club only he ran thro' the world, and purged it of robbers and tyrants; ſo Sparta with a [f] ſimple roll of parchment and a ſorry cloak, gave law to all Greece, which willingly ſubmitted to their empire, threw down tyrannies and uſurpations, put an end to wars at their pleaſure, and calmed ſeditions, moſt frequently without taking up arms, and by the

[e] Οὐ πόλεως ἡ Σπάρτη πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἴσχυσα.

[f] This was what the Lacedæmonians called *ſcytale*, a roll of leather or parchment turned round a ſtaff, whereon the orders of the publick to the generals were written as it were in cypher.

diſpatch of a ſingle embaſſador, who no ſooner a pearcd, than all the States in ſubjection ranged thei ſelves around him, like bees about their King; ſ great an awe and reverence had the juſtice and go government of that city imprinted upon all mankin

I. *The nature of the Spartan government.*

There is a reflection in Plutarch at the cloſe of t life of Lycurgus, which is itſelf a great elogium u this wiſe legiſlator. He ſays, that Plato, Diogen Zeno, and all the reſt, who have undertaken to tr of the eſtabliſhment of civil government, have form their ſchemes upon Lycurgus's plan; with this di rence, that they went no farther than mere deſcr tion, whereas Lycurgus, without ſtopping at ideas: projects, reduced his inimitable deſigns to prac and formed a whole city of philoſophers.

To ſucceed the better and to eſtabliſh a republic perfect as poſſible, he in a manner blended toge whatever was to be found in any kind of governm that ſeemed moſt conducive to the intereſt of the publick, by qualifying one with the other, and bal cing the inconveniencies of each in particular by advantages ariſing from the union of all toge Sparta was in ſome reſpects monarchical from the thority of their Kings; the council of the thirty ſenate, was a true ariſtocracy; and the power people had of nominating the ſenators and givi ſanction to the laws was a branch of democratical vernment. The inſtitution of the Ephori afterw corrected what was amiſs in the firſt regulations, ſupplied whatever could be wanting. Plato, in m than one paſſage, admires the wiſdom of Lycurgu the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate, which was equally neficial to the Kings and people; as by this means law became the meaſure of the regal power, and people's obedience. Or as Plato ſays in the not

bott

bottom, *the laws became the ſovereigns of men, and not men the tyrants of the laws* [g].

II. *The equal diviſion of lands, and prohibition of gold and ſilver money.*

The deſign of Lycurgus in making an equal diſtribution of lands amongſt the citizens, and baniſhing luxury, avarice, quarrels, and diſſentions from Sparta, at the ſame time that he prohibited the uſe of gold and ſilver, would appear to us a fine ſcheme of a republick, but impoſſible to be executed, if we did not learn from hiſtory that Sparta ſubſiſted in this ſtate for ſeveral ages. Could we conceive, that he could ever have prevailed upon the rich and opulent to give up all their ſtores and revenues, to blend themſelves with the poor in every circumſtance, to ſubmit to a painful and ſevere regimen of life, and in a word, to forbear the uſe of every thing they conſidered before as eſſential to the eaſe and happineſs of life? And yet this Lycurgus brought about.

Such an eſtabliſhment would be the leſs ſurpriſing if it had ſubſiſted only during the life of the legiſlator; but we know it ſurvived him many ages. Xenophon in the panegyrick he has left upon Ageſilaus, and Tully in one of his orations, takes notice that the Lacedæmonians were the only people in the world, who made no alterations in their diſcipline and laws for the courſe of ſo many ages. *Soli*, ſays he, ſpeaking of the Lacedæmonians, *toto orbe terrarum ſeptingentos jam annos ampliùs unis moribus & nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* There is good reaſon to believe that in Tully's time the diſcipline of Sparta, as well as its power, was very much enfeebled and diminiſhed; but all hiſtorians agree that it was kept up in its full force till the reign of Agis, under whom Lyſander, who tho' incapable himſelf of being dazzled or corrupted by gold, introduced luxury into his country and a fondneſs for riches,

[g] Νόμος ἁπάντων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων. Plat. βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' οὐκ Epiſt. 8.

by carrying thither the immenſe ſums of gold and ver he had gained by his victories, and thereby verting the laws of Lycurgus. This event well ſerves to be here taken notice of.

[h] Lyſander having got great ſpoils at the taki Athens, ſent all the gold and ſilver to Lacedæ They held a council to debate whether or not ſhould receive it; a rare and excellent delibera and the only inſtance of the kind to be met wi hiſtory! The wiſeſt and moſt underſtanding m Sparta, adhering ſtrictly to the law, were of op that this gold and ſilver ſhould be thrown out c city with horror and execration, as a fatal plagu a dangerous allurement to all kinds of miſchief. others, and the far greater number, propoſed a m way, and the expedient was followed. They or the gold and ſilver to be retained, but to be onl ployed in the publick treaſury, and affairs of and that if any private man ſhould be found to any of it he ſhould immediately be put to [k] They were imprudent and blind enough to im ſays Plutarch, that it was ſufficient to hinder go ſilver from entering into their houſes, by placin law and the fear of puniſhment as a centinel at doors; whilſt they left the hearts of their citizens to the admiration and deſire of riches, and intro a ſtrong paſſion for accumulating them, by mak be conſidered as great and honourable to become

But the introduction of gold and ſilver mone not the firſt wound the Lacedæmonians gave t laws of their legiſlator. It was the conſequence violation of another more fundamental law. A tion paved the way to avarice. The deſire of con drew after it a deſire of riches, without which

[h] Plut. in Lyſand.

[i] Ὑποδιωμπεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ πῆγα; κακῶν ἐπαγώγιμα;.

[k] Οἱ δὲ ταῖς μὲν οἰκίαις τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπως ὐ πάχισιν εἰς αὐτὰς; νόμισμα, τὸν φόβον ἐπίσης κακὰ καὶ τὸν νόμον, αὐτὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεκπλήκτους ὑ ἀπαθῆ ἀνίδρυον οἱ πλείονες, ἐμπαλι ζῆλον, ὡς σεμνοῦ τινὸς ἀ νου, τοῦ πολίτου ἀναθοῦ.

could no longer think of extending their dominion. The principal end of Lycurgus in the inſtitution of his laws, and eſpecially in the prohibition of gold and ſilver, was, as Polybius and Plutarch have judiciouſly obſerved, to bridle and reſtrain the ambition of the citizens, to diſable them from making any conqueſts, and to force them in ſome meaſure to confine themſelves within the narrow precincts of their own country, without carrying their views or pretenſions any farther. In ſhort, the government he had eſtabliſhed ſufficed to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was inſufficient to give her dominion over other cities.

The deſign of Lycurgus was not to make conquerors. To take away all ſuch thoughts from his citizens, though they dwelt in a country ſurrounded by the ſea, [l] he expreſly forbad them the uſe of navigation, the having a fleet, or fighting by ſea. And this prohibition they religiouſly obſerved for near five hundred years, till after the defeat of Xerxes. Upon that occaſion they reſolved to make themſelves maſters by ſea, to keep ſo formidable an enemy at a diſtance. But ſoon perceiving, that theſe remote and maritime offices of command corrupted the manners of their generals, they readily gave them up, as we have already obſerved in the caſe of King Pauſanias.

Lycurgus armed his citizens with bucklers and lances only for their own defence, not to enable them to commit wrongs with the greater impunity. [m] He made them a people of ſoldiers and warriors, that under the protection of their arms they might live in liberty, moderation, juſtice, union, and peace, contenting themſelves with their own territories, without uſurping thoſe of others, and convinced that a city no leſs than a private man, can never hope for ſolid and

l Ἀπείρους δὲ αὐτοὺς ναύταις εἶναι καὶ ναυμαχίῃν. Plut. in morib. Lac.

m Οὐ μὴν τοῦ τόγε Λυκόργῳ καταφάλαιον ἦν τότε πολεμικὸν ἡγεμένην ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς βίᾳ καὶ πόλεως ὅλης νομίζων εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἰσχύσθαι καὶ ὁμονοίας πρὸς αὐτὴν, πρὸς τοῦτο συνέταξε καὶ συνήρμοσεν ὅπως ἐλευθέροι, καὶ αὐτάρκεις γενόμενοι καὶ σωφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον διαμένωσι, Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

lasting happiness by any other means than virtue. Men of corrupt manners, [a] adds Plutarch, who think nothing more valuable than riches, and a powerful and large dominion, may give the preference to those vast empires, which have subdued the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced, that nothing of this kind was necessary to make a people happy. Equity, moderation, liberty, and peace, were the principal end of his policy, which has so justly been the admiration of all ages, as it was an utter enemy to all wrong, violence, ambition, or a desire of ruling and extending the bounds of the Spartan republick. Reflections of this kind, which are frequent in Plutarch's lives, and are the greatest and most valuable beauty, may very much contribute to give youth a true notion of the solid glory of a state really happy, and early undeceive them in the mistakes they are apt to form of the vain grandeur of those empires, which have swallowed up the kingdoms of the earth, and those famous conquerors, who owe their rise to usurpation and violence.

III. *The excellent education of youth.*

The long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly a very wonderful circumstance; but the method he made use of to make them so lasting, is no less worthy our admiration; and this was the extraordinary care he took in training up the children of the Lacedæmonians to an exact and severe discipline. For, as Plutarch makes him observe, the religion of an oath would be but a feeble tie, if the laws were not imprinted in their manners by education and habitude, and a regard for his institutions sucked in almost with their milk. And thus we see his ordinances lasted for above five hundred years, [b] like a

[a] Plut. ibid. in vit Apoph.

[b] Ὥσπερ βαφῆς ἀκμάτου ἡ ἰσχυρὰς καθαλαμένης.

strong

ſtrong dye, that had penetrated quite through the ſubſtance. [p] Tully makes the ſame remark, and imputes the courage and virtue of the Spartans not ſo much to their good natural diſpoſition, as to the excellent education they received at Sparta. *Cujus civitatis ſpectata ac nobilitata virtus, non ſolùm naturâ corroborata, verùm etiam diſciplinâ putatur.* Which ſhews us how nearly the ſtate is concerned to ſee its youth brought up in a manner proper to inſpire them with a love for the laws of their country.

'Twas the great principle of Lycurgus, [q] which Ariſtotle repeats in expreſs terms, that as children belong to the ſtate, they ſhould be brought up by the ſtate, and according to the intention of the ſtate. For this reaſon he required them to be educated publickly and in common, and not left to the fancy of parents, [r] who generally, through a blind indulgence, and miſtaken tenderneſs, enervate at once both the body and mind of their children. At Sparta they were inured from their infancy to labour and fatigue, by the exerciſes of hunting and running; they were taught to bear hunger and thirſt, heat and cold. And what mothers can hardly be perſuaded to believe, all theſe ſevere and painful exerciſes tended to make them healthful and robuſt, capable of ſupporting the fatigues of war, to which they were all deſtined, and actually did ſo.

IV. *Obedience.*

But the moſt excellent branch of the Spartan education was, that it taught children perfectly to obey. [s] Whence the poet Simonides gives this city a magni-

[p] Orat. pro Flacco, n. 63.

[q] Οὐκ χρὴ νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως. Διὸ δὴ τῶν κοινῶν χρὴν προσέχειν ἢ τὴν ἀσκησιν. Ariſt. lib. 8. Polit.

[r] Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes & mentis & corporis frangit. Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[s] Δαμασίμβροτος, *the tamer of men.*

well inſtructed in it himſelf, and knew th
of it. Plutarch obſerves, that he did not
ſupreme command, "like the other King
having firſt perfectly learnt to obey, and f
for "he was the only one amongſt all the I
then Kings, who had the refined art of ag
tirely with his ſubjects, and uniting in his
a greatneſs truly royal, and a natural n
manners, that air of goodneſs, humanity,
affability, which he had derived from his e

He afterwards gave the moſt memorable
ſubmiſſion to the law and publick authority,
in hiſtory; and Xenophon and Plutarch j
it to the moſt glorious of his other actions.
ing gained very conſiderable victories over t
all Aſia being in commotion, and moſt of
ces ready to revolt, he determined to fal
King of Perſia in the heart of his domi
was preparing to ſet out for this great exp
the mean while a meſſenger arrives to tel
Sparta was threatened with a terrible wa
Ephori recalled him to the aſſiſtance of h
Ageſilaus immediately ſets forward withou

and the future hopes of success, which were almost as certain as the past.

Princes, [x] says Plutarch, generally place their grandeur in commanding others, and being subject to nobody. They often affect an ignorance of their duty, lest the light of reason should subject themselves, and blunt the edge and force of an authority, to which they would willingly set no bounds. Who then, adds Plutarch, shall be the master of Kings, who have no other? Why the law, that sovereign queen of gods and men, as Pindar calls it; a law, not written in tables, but engraven on the heart, which will constantly attend upon them, and never forsake them, but exercise a mild tho' absolute dominion over their minds. An officer stood by the King of Persia's bed-side every morning, to say to him, *Sir, remember you fulfil the ordinances of Oromasdes:* He was the lawgiver of the Persians. The love of justice and the publick good says as much to every understanding and sensible Prince.

To give us a better notion of the character of the Lacedæmonians, and their perfect submission to the laws, I shall here quote a passage from Herodotus, which well deserves our notice. When Xerxes was upon the point of entering Greece, he asks Demaratus one of the Spartan Kings, who had fled to court for refuge, if he thought the Greeks would dare to withstand him, and desired he would speak his sentiments sincerely. "Since you require it, replies Demaratus, "truth shall speak to you by my mouth. [y] Greece "indeed has ever been bred up in poverty; but "has had virtue also, improved by wisdom and sup-"ported by the vigour of the laws. And from the "use she has made of this virtue, Greece has equal-"ly preserved herself from the inconveniencies of "poverty, and the yoke of subjection. But to con-

x Plut. ad principem indoctum.

y I shall insert the Greek text of this passage of Herodotus at the close of this article, with some remarks upon a difficult expression in it.

" fine myſelf to my own Lacedæmonians, be aſſured " that born and nurtured as they are in liberty, they " will never hearken to any propoſal that tends to " ſlavery. Were they forſaken by all the other Greeks, " and reduced to a troop of a thouſand ſoldiers, or " even a leſs number, they would make head againſt " you, and never decline the battle." The King ſmiled at his diſcourſe, and as he could not comprehend, how men ſo free and independent, as the Lacedæmonians were ſaid to be without any maſters to controul them, ſhould be capable of expoſing themſelves in ſuch a manner to dangers and death; " "They " are free and independent of every man, replies De- " maratus, but they have a law above them by which " they are ruled, and they are more afraid of that law, " than your ſubjects are of you. Now this law for- " bids them ever to fly in battle from their enemies, " how great ſoever the number of them may be, and " commands them to keep firm to their poſts, and " either conquer or die." And it happened as Damaratus had foretold. Three hundred Lacedæmonians, with Leonidas one of the Spartan Kings at their head, ventured to diſpute the paſſage of Thermopylæ with the innumerable army of the Perſians. And at laſt, after incredible efforts of value, over-powered by numbers rather than conquered, they all fell with their Prince, except one man, who eſcaped to Lacedæmon, where he was uſed like a coward, and a traitor to his country. A magnificent monument was afterwards raiſed for thoſe brave champions of Greece on the very ſpot where they were ſlain, [a] with this inſcription made by the poet Simonides.

" Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐοντες, ὐ πάντα πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐν μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μί-
ἁλ νὸς οἱ εἰσιν· ἔπεσι γάρ σφι δεσπό- γοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἀπαράλιτον, ἢ
στης, νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολ- ἀπολλυσθαι.
λῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ· ποιεῦσι [a] Pari animo Lacedæmonii in
γοῦν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγῃ· ἀ γε δὲ Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos
ὠὐτὸ αἰεὶ, ὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν Simonides:

Dic, hoſpes, Spartæ, nos te hîc vidiſſe jacentes,
Dum ſanctis patriæ legibus obſequimur.

Cic. lib. 1. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 101.

Ω ξεῖν',

Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

i. e. *Go traveller, and say at Lacedæmon, that we lie buried here for obeying her sacred laws.* It may not be amiss upon this occasion to give the boys a hint of the simplicity of the old inscriptions.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS *upon a passage in Herodotus.*

[b] Τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεί κοτε σύνοικος ἐστι· ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐπακτὸς ἐστι, ἀπότε σοφίης καὶ ἐρασμένη καὶ νόμῳ ἰσχυρῷ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς, τήν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται, καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην.

Valla translates the passage thus, *Græcia semper quidem alumna fuit paupertatis, hospes virtutis, quam à sapientia acoivit & à severa disciplina; quam usurpans Græcia & paupertatem tuetur, & dominatum.* Harry Stephens instead of *paupertatem tuetur*, has put in the margin *paupertatem propulsat*, which agrees with the Greek text, τὴν πενίην ἀπαμύνεται.

This passage has very much embarrassed me, and is certainly a very difficult one. It seems to imply an evident contradiction, in saying first, that poverty was always held honourable in Greece, and then that the same Greece rejected poverty and kept it at a distance. For which reason I was very much pleased with Valla's translation, and thought it gave a beautiful meaning to the passage. "Greece, said Demaratus to Xerxes, "has hitherto always been the seat of poverty and "the school of virtue. Instructed by the lectures of "her wise men, and supported by a strict observation "of her laws, she has hitherto always retained the "love of poverty, and the honour of command, & "*paupertatem tuetur & dominatum.*" But in this case we must change the text of Herodotus, and instead of ἀπαμύνεται read ἐπαμύνεται, as Valla evidently conjectured.

[b] Herod. lib. 7. p. 473. edit. Henr. Step. ann. 1592.

Finding myself under this difficulty, I consulted an absent friend, who is very conversant in the Latin and Greek authors, and whose observations and advice have been of great assistance to me in this work. I shall here insert his answer, as it may be useful to young masters, in shewing them how to explain obscure and difficult passages.

I think, writes my friend, that I have discovered the true meaning of the passage in Herodotus. I will give the translation of it, after I have produced the reasons upon which I ground it.

The principal difficulty lies in the sense of the word ἀπαμύνεσθαι. If there is an ambiguity in construing it with στενὴν, it is taken away by δεσποσύνην, which the same verb equally governs. Now δεσποσύνη does not signify the *honour of command*, as you translate it.

1st then, To support this version, ἀπαμύνεσθαι must be changed into ἐπαμύνεσθαι without authority, and in opposition to all manuscripts and printed copies, which should never be admitted, unless the direct meaning of the text required it.

2. The peculiar character of the Greeks, especially in those early ages, was the love of liberty, independency, and freedom from every yoke, αὐτονομία, and not the desire of rule, an ambition to command, or the glory of conquests.

3. Let any one, if he can, instance not a whole nation, but a single city, over which the Greeks had then extended their empire, or affected the *honour of command*. Demaratus therefore would have made himself ridiculous, if he had boasted to Xerxes of the command of the Greeks, when he could not shew one village over which they exercised it.

4. Though we should grant for a moment, that this Lacedæmonian intended to exaggerate the jealousy of the Greeks for the honour of command, as capable of making them sacrifice every thing for the conservation of so glorious a possession, he would never have made use of the word δεσποσύνη to express his thought.

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He would have certainly have preferred ἡγεμονίᾳ, ἀρχῇ, δυναστίᾳ, κράτῳ, or it may be κοιρανίῃ, if he would have talked like Homer. For δεσποσύνη ſignifies only the dominion of a maſter over his ſlaves; *dominatio heriſis in ſervos.* 'Tis an odious term, and carries with it the idea of ſlavery in the perſon who is ſubject to it, and conveys a notion entirely oppoſite to the genius of the Greeks, who never afterwards, though their ambition had been augmented by their great victories over the Perſians, ever thought of eſtabliſhing that deſpotic power, δεσποσύνην. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians, who alternately ſhared the honour of command, in all their conqueſts affected either to introduce a democracy into the cities ſubdued, or an ariſtocracy, and to animate them againſt the ſlavery of the Perſians by that pleaſing image of liberty. This needs no proof here, 'tis ſo expreſly laid down in all hiſtory.

5. What Demaratus immediately adds of the Lacedæmonians, to prove his general theſis by that particular example, clearly ſhews that the δεσποσύνη here ſpoke of was not active, ſuch as they would exerciſe over others, but a paſſive δεσποσύνη, ſuch as Xerxes required of them, to which the Spartans would never ſubmit, though abandoned by all the Greeks, and left to periſh inevitably alone. This is the end of his reaſoning, which we ſhould have conſtantly in view.

I don't ſee therefore how we can receive a verſion, at once directy oppoſite to the expreſs text of the original, the propriety of the words, the true character of the people, the evidence of facts, and the connexion of the ſpeaker's argument.

Thus then I would have it tranſlated:

"Greece indeed has ever been bred up in poverty, "but has had virtue withal, improved by wiſdom, and "ſupported by the vigour of the laws. And from "the uſe ſhe has made of this virtue it is, that Greece "has alike preſerved herſelf from the inconvenien-"cies of poverty, and the yoke of ſubjection."

II. *Things blameable in the laws of Lycurgus.*

Without entering here into an exact detail of all that may be blamed in the laws of Lycurgus, I ſhall content myſelf with ſome ſlight reflections, which the reader without doubt, juſtly ſhocked and offended at the bare relation of them, will have made before me.

I. *Upon the choice of the children to be brought up or expoſed.*

And to begin with the choice of the children to be brought up or expoſed, who can avoid being ſhocked at the unjuſt and barbarous cuſtom of pronouncing a ſentence of death upon infants, who had the misfortune to be born of too tender and delicate a conſtitution to ſupport the fatigue and exerciſe, to which the republick deſtined all her ſubjects? Is it then impoſſible, and have we no inſtances of it, that children, at firſt weak and tender, may grow ſtrong by age, and become even very robuſt? But were it otherwiſe, can our country be ſerved only by the ſtrength of our bodies? And are wiſdom, prudence, council, generoſity, courage, and greatneſs of ſoul, and all the qualities which depend on the mind, of no value? [c] *Omnino illud honeſtum, quod ex animo excelſo magnificoque quærimus, animi efficitur non corporis viribus.* [d] Did Lycurgus himſelf do leſs ſervice or honour to Sparta by the inſtitution of his laws, than the greateſt officers by their victories? Ageſilaus was of ſmall ſtature, and had ſomething ſo very diſadvantageous in his mien, that the Egyptians at firſt ſight of him could not forbear laughing; and yet he made the great King of Perſia tremble upon his throne.

But what is of greater force than all I have urged, has any other a right over the lives of men, except

[c] Cic. lib. 1. Offic. n. 79. [d] Ibid. n. 76.

the

he from whom they received them, that is, God himſelf? And does not a legiſlator viſibly uſurp upon his authority, when he arrogates to himſelf ſuch a power independently of him? That command of the decalogue, which was only a repetition of the law of nature, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, condemns all the ancients in general, who thought they had the right of life and death over their ſlaves, and even over their children.

II. *The falſe care of the body.*

The great fault of Lycurgus's laws, as Plato and Ariſtotle have obſerved, is, that they tended only to form a ſtate of ſoldiers. This legiſlator ſeemed wholly taken up in the care of ſtrengthening the body, without any concern about cultivating the mind. To what end ſhould he baniſh all arts and ſciences from his republick, [e] which principally tend to ſoften the manners, refine the underſtanding, improve the heart, inſpire a polite, generous, and honeſt behaviour, neceſſary in a word to the ſupport of ſociety and to render the commerce of life agreeable? Hence the Lacedæmonians had ſomething rigid, auſtere, and often cruel in their character; which partly aroſe from their education, and created an averſion for them in all the allies.

III. *Their barbarous cruelty to children.*

'Twas an excellent cuſtom at Sparta to inure the boys early to bear heat and cold, hunger and thirſt, [f] and by ſevere and painful exerciſes to bring their bodies within due ſubjection to reaſon, ſo as to make them ſubſervient to its orders, which could not be done, unleſs they were in a condition to ſupport all

e Omnes artes, quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari ſolet. Pro Arch. n 4.

f Exercendum corpus, & ita afficiendum eſt, ut obedire conſilio rationique poſſit in exequendis negotiis & labore tolerando. Lib. 1. de Offic. n. 79.

kind

kind of fatigues. But was it requiſite to carry this trial ſo far as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not brutal and barbarous in the parents to ſtand unmoved at ſeeing the blood run down from their children's wounds, and the harmleſs creatures often expiring under the blows of the rod?

IV. *The unnatural reſolution of mothers.*

The courage of the Spartan mothers is admired, who inſtead of tenderneſs and tears upon the news of their ſons being killed in battle, expreſſed a kind of joy. I ſhould have been better pleaſed that natural affection had ſhewn itſelf upon ſuch occaſions, and that the love of their country had not entirely ſtifled the ſentiments of the mother and the woman. One of our generals, who was told in the heat of battle, that his ſon was juſt ſlain, ſpoke far more wiſely, "Let "us now think, ſays he, of conquering our enemies, "to-morrow I will lament my ſon."

V. *Exceſſive leiſure.*

I cannot ſee how we can excuſe Lycurgus for obliging the Lacedæmonians to paſs their whole lives in idleneſs, except what they ſpent in war. He left all arts and trades to ſlaves and foreigners, who dwelt among them, and put nothing but the ſhield and ſpear into the hands of the citizens. Without mentioning the danger of ſuffering the number of ſlaves required for the tilling of lands, to increaſe to ſuch a degree, as to exceed that of their maſters, which often occaſioned ſeditions; into how many diſorders muſt ſo much leiſure throw perſons always idle, without any daily employment, or regular buſineſs? 'Tis an inconvenience at preſent too frequent amongſt the gentry, and a natural conſequence of their bad education. Except in time of war moſt of our gentlemen paſs their lives in a manner entirely uſeleſs. They look upon agriculture,

agriculture, arts and trade, as things beneath them, and would think themſelves diſhonoured by them. They often know nothing but how to handle their arms. They acquire but a ſuperficial knowledge of the ſciences, only juſt what they needs muſt; and ſeveral of them have no knowledge of them at all, nor the leaſt taſte for learning. No wonder therefore that entertainments, cards and dice, hunting-matches, viſiting and trifling converſations, ſhould be their ſole employment. A ſad life for men of any underſtanding.

VI. *Shame and modeſty abſolutely neglected.*

But the moſt blameable circumſtance in Lycurgus, is the little regard he had for ſhame and modeſty, which ſhews us into what darkneſs and diſorders the heathen were plunged. A Chriſtian maſter will not fail to ſet the holineſs and purity of the goſpel laws in oppoſition to that unbounded licentiouſneſs; and by this contraſt diſplay the dignity and excellence of Chriſtianity.

This may alſo be done in as uſeful a manner by comparing the moſt valuable part of Lycurgus's laws with thoſe of the goſpel. 'Tis indeed worthy admiration, that a whole people ſhould conſent to a diviſion of lands, which put the poor upon an equal footing with the rich, and by the alteration of the money reduce themſelves to a kind of poverty. But the legiſlator of Sparta, when he eſtabliſhed theſe laws, had an armed force at his command. The legiſlator of the Chriſtians ſaid but one word, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit*; and thouſands of faithful in all after ages renounce their poſſeſſions, ſell their lands, and leave all to follow Jeſus Chriſt in poverty.

Upon the theft allowed the Lacedæmonians.

I have thought proper to treat this article ſeparately and with ſome extent; becauſe, in my opinion, the judgment generally given of it, does not ſeem ſufficiently

with parents among the Indians, adultery amo
people, we generally find the theft of the La
nians, with an obſervation th. t among the
ans, a nation commonly conſidered as barba
having no laws, without any other notion
than what was derived from natural inſtin
was condemned and puniſhed as one of th
crimes.

But can it reaſonably be preſumed, that o
greateſt of legiſlator: ſhould have expreſly a
ſo groſs a diſorder as thieving, whilſt every l
giver, in all ages and countries, has been c
puniſh it ſeverely, and even with death?

Plutarch, who mentions this cuſtom in t
Lycurgus, in the manners of the Lacedæmon
in ſeveral other places, never gives the lea
diſapprobation, though uſually ſo equitabl
and ſo exact a moraliſt; nor do I recollect
of the ancients ever charged it as a crime u
curgus or the Lacedæmonians.

Upon what then do the moderns found the
they paſs upon it? Certainly upon not givi
ſelves the trouble of weighing the circumſta
penetrating the motives of it.

1. The Lacedæmonian youth never fil
by order of their governor.

was purpoſely given them in very ſmall quantity. And thus all theſe thefts were conſidered as inſtances of dexterity, which were publickly allowed them for the procuring a larger ſhare of proviſion.

4. The lawgiver had ſeveral reaſons for permitting this kind of theft.

His deſign was to make the poſſeſſors more careful in locking up and preſerving their ſubſtance.

And to make the boys more hardy and cunning, as deſigning them for the field.

They gave them little food, that they might never be cloyed, never be too full, or clogged with fat, that they might be alert and nimble, learn to bear hunger, and have better and more regular health.

[1] But the principal motive was, that all theſe boys being deſigned for the army without exception, it was neceſſary to inure them early to a ſoldier's life, to teach them to live upon a little, to provide a ſubſiſtence for themſelves without ſtanding in need of ammunition bread, to bear great fatigues, faſting, to maintain themſelves long with little proviſions in a country where the enemy, accuſtomed to conſume a great deal, muſt ſtarve in a few days, or be forced to quit their ground through the want of neceſſary proviſions; whereas the Lacedæmonians could find wherewithal to ſubſiſt without difficulty. This the legiſlator, who was entirely a warrior, and had no other view but to train up ſoldiers, was willing to provide for at a diſtance by their education, inuring them to great frugality and ſobriety, for want of which the generality of military expeditions miſcarry, and the ſtrongeſt armies are rendered incapable of maintaining their conqueſts. Inſomuch that at preſent, as luxury and an expenſive manner of living has multiplied the neceſſities of armies, the care which embarraſſes the officers moſt is the proviſion of victuals; and the firſt obſtacle which hinders their advancing into an enemy's country, is want of

[1] Inſtit. Lacon.

ſubſiſtence.

ſubſiſtence. Thus our greateſt Generals conſider the eaſe and expedition, with which immenſe armies tranſported themſelves from one country to another, as the moſt ſingular and incredible circumſtances in ancient hiſtory.

Theſe are the advantages Lycurgus intended to procure for a warlike people; and he could not have choſen more effectual, nor more certain means. And this is neceſſary for the underſtanding his law, and doing him juſtice. After all theſe obſervations, I queſtion whether the Lacedæmonian youth were to be blamed for their theft, or obliged to make reſtitution. In this caſe they may eaſily be juſtified by ſtill ſtronger and more ſolid reaſons.

'Tis a certain principle, that from the firſt diviſion of eſtates we poſſeſs nothing but dependently on the laws, and according to their diſpoſition; and that by giving up to each particular the enjoyment of that portion which has fallen to his ſhare, the ſame laws may make ſuch reſerves and reſtrictions, and lay it under ſuch ſervices and burdens as they ſhall think moſt proper. Now the whole body of the Spartan ſtate, when they accepted the laws of Lycurgus, did agree by a ſolemn compact, that upon the nine and thirty thouſand lots diſtributed among the Spartans, the youth ſhould be allowed to take ſuch garden-ſtuff and victuals as the poſſeſſor had not a watchful eye upon, without ſuffering him to complain of the robbery, or have an action againſt the robber. Thus we ſee, that whenever the boy was caught, he was not puniſhed as having committed an injuſtice, or ſeized upon another man's property, but for want of dexterity.

Such ſort of reſerves, and the like privileges granted upon the property of others, are very uſeful in all ſtates. Thus God not only gave the poor a liberty of gathering grapes in the vineyards, of gleaning in the fields, and even of carrying off whole ſheaves, but withal allowed every paſſenger the freedom of entering

tering into another's vineyard, as often as he pleaſed, and of eating as many grapes as he would, whether the maſter of the vineyard liked or no. And God gives this reaſon for it, that the land of Iſrael was his, and the Iſraelites held it of him on this condition.

Services of this kind are eſtabliſhed in other republicks, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any injuſtice. Soldiers have a right to lodge in private houſes, to be ſubſiſted in them on their march, or in their winter-quarters, to be furniſhed with waggons and other neceſſaries. The lord of a manor has a right, as he pleaſes and whenever he pleaſes, to take the game and deer of his tenants, though the lands on which they are fed do not belong to him; and even to hinder the proprietors from touching any of them, though bred in their grounds.

Thus the whole body of the Lacedæmonian ſtate, conſiſting of every individual in it, had publickly transferred to the youth a right of going into their gardens and halls, and taking ſuch proviſions as they liked beſt. And theſe boys were no more criminal for uſing this liberty, than the citizens of Athens for going into the gardens and orchards of Cimon, and taking thence what they wanted; becauſe every particular man in Sparta was ſuppoſed to have unanimouſly given the boys, who after all were their own children, the ſame permiſſion that Cimon granted the Athenians, that were only his citizens.

As to the Scythians, amongſt whom theft was ſeverely puniſhed, the reaſon of the difference is very evident. For the law, which is the ſole judge of the property and uſe of our ſubſtance, had granted no privilege to any one private man over the ſubſtance of another; whereas the law of the Lacedæmonians had done juſt the contrary. It would have been a real theft to have gone into the gardens of Pericles, Themiſtocles, or Alcibiades, and taken the fruit thence, but there was none in gathering it from the orchards of Cimon and Pelopidas, becauſe they had aſſociated all

all their fellow-citizens into the enjoyment of that part of their eſtates.

There was no cauſe to apprehend that this Spartan cuſtom ſhould teach the youth to ſteal upon other occaſions. For the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which prohibited the uſe of gold and ſilver money, and obliged all the citizens to live and eat together, had made the robbery of goods and money either uſeleſs or impoſſible. And thus we don't find, that there ever was a diſcovery made of ſo much as one robbery at Lacedæmon for ſo many ages.

THE FOURTH PIECE *taken from the Hiſtory of the Greeks.*

The proſperous times of Thebes, and deliverance of Syracuſe.

AS I deſign to be ſhort, I have joined theſe two pieces of hiſtory together, though very ſeparate in themſelves; and for the ſame reaſon, relating little beſides, I ſhall content myſelf with laying open the characters of thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in them.

I. *The proſperous days of Thebes.*

No part of hiſtory, in my opinion, ſhews better of what real merit is capable, and of what ſervice great officers are to a ſtate, than what happened at Thebes in a very ſhort ſpace of time. This city was very weak in itſelf, and but lately in a manner reduced to ſlavery. Lacedæmon on the other hand had long poſſeſſed the ſuperiority, and domineered over all Greece. Two Thebans, by their courage and wiſdom, brought down the formidable power of Sparta, and

and raiſed their country to the higheſt pitch of empire and glory. I ſhall juſt touch upon this event, without entering into particulars.

Theſe two Thebans were Pelopidas and Epaminondas, both deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious families in the city. The firſt was born to a great eſtate, which he augmented very much by inheriting the eſtate of another very wealthy and flouriſhing family. Poverty was in a manner hereditary to the other, but he rendered it ſtill more familiar and eaſy by a ſerious application to philoſophy, and a plain manner of living, to which he always adhered with entire conſtancy and uniformity. The one ſhewed the uſe that was to be made of riches, and the other of poverty. Pelopidas diſtributed his riches to all ſuch as ſtood in need of them, and deſerved his aſſiſtance; ſhewing, ſays Plutarch, that he was the maſter and not the ſlave of wealth. As he could never prevail upon his friend Epaminondas to accept of his offers, and make uſe of his ſubſtance, he learnt of him to live like a poor man in the midſt of plenty. He purpoſely viſited the houſes of the poor, that he might know of them how to want. He ſhould be aſhamed, he ſaid, of ſpending more at his table or on his dreſs than the meaneſt Theban. And he was only thus ſevere upon himſelf, that he might have wherewithal to maintain a greater number of honeſt men, who wanted aſſiſtance.

They were both equally deſigned by nature for great things, but with this difference, that Pelopidas applied himſelf moſt to the exerciſe of the body, and Epaminondas to the cultivation of the mind. The one employed all his leiſure in wreſtling and hunting, and the other in converſation and ſtudy of philoſophy.

But what has moſt of all been admired in them by men of judgment is, that ſtrict friendſhip and unalterable union in which they lived during the whole courſe of their lives, though almoſt always employed

together, either in the command of the army, government of the commonwealth; an union, ed upon the mutual eſteem they had for each and increaſed by the love of their country, made each of them look upon the ſucceſs of th as his own. This good underſtanding and agre ſo ſeldom or almoſt never found amongſt min ſtate, as may be ſeen in the caſe of the great Athens, could ariſe only from a real greatneſs and a ſolid virtue, which not conſulting g riches, the fatal ſources of diſſention and en conſidering only the intereſt and happineſs country, was far ſuperior to the little weakne mean jealouſy, which feels uneaſineſs at the others.

The firſt and moſt glorious proof Pelopid his courage and prudence was the bold deſign and executed, though then very young, of d his country from the yoke of the Lacedæ who had made themſelves maſters of the Thebes by ſurprize. He took care in a l to form a conſiderable conſpiracy againſt th But though this affair had been carried on poſſible ſecrecy, within a moment before th tion, a meſſenger, who had made all in ſpeed, enquired for Archias the chief of the who were then feaſting together, and gave a l his hands, which he ſaid required immediate and was about ſerious affairs. And indeed i terwards known, that it contained a circu account of the whole conſpiracy. [k] Archia *To-morrow then*, ſays he, *for ſerious buſineſs*; the letter under the cuſhion on which he lo there was no to-morrow for him; for he w that night with all the tyrants, and the cita vered. The change which ſoon after hap their affairs, and the war which humbled th

[k] Καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίας μειδιάσας· Οἰκοῦν εἰς αὔριον, ἔφη, τὰ σ

ıd deprived them of their empire by ſea and
ght properly be ſaid to be the work of that
which Pelopidas, without taking either
fort, with an handful of men, unlooſed,
ıt expreſſion, and broke the bonds of the La-
ian ſway, which ſeemed morally impoſſible
een either broken or unlooſed.

afterwards a ſhare in all the victories which
ained over the Lacedæmonians. After ſuch
d ſucceſsful expeditions, all the towns in
apply to Pelopidas for aſſiſtance againſt the
ıt oppreſſed them. He immediately ſets for-
ıis march, and gives them liberty by his
The two competitors for the crown of Ma-
ıde choice of him to decide their quarrel.
ibes them conditions of peace, and takes
of them for the ſecurity of their engage-
o great was then the fame of the power of
ınd the confidence they placed in his juſtice.
ards went embaſſador to the King of Perſia,
eceived with the greateſt marks of diſtinction
t; and whilſt the deputies of the other re-
were employed in ſerving their private ad-
ıe was engaged ſolely in promoting the ge-
reſt of Greece; and without aſking any
his country, ſtudied only to procure the li-
l the Greeks, and their entire independency.
d with having obtained that, and little af-
h the magnificent preſents offered him by
, he accepted only of ſuch as, without en-
im, barely expreſſed the good-will and fa-
ıe Prince.

y great actions terminated in a very glorious
eed, but not altogether ſuch as might be
ſo great a man; for Pelopidas purſuing too
e tyrant of Pheræ, who fled before him,
overed himſelf behind the company of his
vas at laſt overpowered by numbers, after
ſted prodigies of valour. He ſhould have

remembered, that great men are accountable to country for their lives, and ought to die for alone, and not for themſelves.

As to Epaminondas [l], he has deſervedly been ſidered as the greateſt man Greece ever pro *or perhaps the world.* [m] it would be hard t whether he was a better general or man. H all the great qualities of the moſt famous capta Diodorus Siculus obſerves, and none of their He was alike averſe to ambition and avarice ſought to procure his country the command, a to command himſelf. Riches were ſo far from a temptation, that he never ſuffered them to ap him; it ſeems as if he ſhould have thought h diſhonoured by growing rich; and his pover tended him to his grave, whither he was car the expence of the publick. As he was born he reſolved to continue ſo; and his friend Pe could never prevail upon him to think otherwi "am not aſhamed, ſaid he to him, of a pover "has not prevented me from deſerving the fi "ployments in the commonwealth, and the "mand of her armies. Poverty has brou "ſhame upon me, nor will I bring any upon "ty, by quitting it."

[n] He was as little ſolicitous about glory as r He never made any intereſt for offices: Di courted him, and often did violence to his mod obliging him to accept them: though he alwa charged them in ſuch a manner as did more h to them, than they to him.

l Thebarum Epaminondam, haud ſcio an ſummum virum Graeciæ, Cic. lib. 2. de Orat. n. 230.

m. Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux. Nam & imperium non ſibi ſemper, ſed patriæ quæſivit: & pecuniæ adeo parcus fuit, ut ſumptus funeri defuerit. Juſtin. lib. 6. cap. 8.

n Gloriæ quoque non quàm pecuniæ; qui, ge omnia imperia regesque ſ horeſque ita geſſit, ut ern non accipere, ſed dare ip tati videretur. Jam l ſtudium jam philoſophiæ tanta, ut mirabile videre tam inſignis militiæ ſci mini inter literas nato. J

His integrity, ſincerity, and invincible love of juſtice, procured him the entire confidence of his citizens, and even of his enemies. No body could avoid loving and admiring him for his good-nature and affability, which nothing could alter; nor did they in the leaſt take away from the high eſteem and veneration, which his great qualities had gained him. [o] It is in virtues of this ſocial kind that Plutarch places the real grandeur of Epaminondas. Nor indeed is any thing more extraordinary than ſuch qualities with an almoſt abſolute power, in the midſt of wars, and victories, and at the head of the greateſt affairs; nor can any thing more neceſſary be propoſed for the imitation of perſons of quality, who are often tempted to ſubſtitute artifice, diſſimulation, airs of haughtineſs and pride, inſtead of them.

His elevation of mind made him always bear with mildneſs and patience the jealouſy of his equals, the ill humour of his citizens, the calumnies of his enemies, and the ingratitude of his country after his great ſervices. [p] He was fully of opinion, that greatneſs of ſoul conſiſted principally in ſuffering theſe trials without concern, complaining, or abating any thing of his zeal for the publick good; [q] becauſe the ill uſage of our country, like that of our parents, ſhould be borne with ſubmiſſion.

There never was a greater maſter in the art of war. In him intrepid valour was united with the moſt conſummate prudence. And all theſe virtues were no leſs the effect of his excellent education, than of his happy genius. From his infancy he had expreſſed ſuch a wonderful taſte for ſtudy and labour, that one would wonder how a man born in the midſt of letters, and

o Ἦν ἀληθῶς μέγας ἐγκρατείᾳ, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ, καὶ πρᾳότητι. Plut. in Pel.

p Τὸ δὲ συνοφέντημα καὶ τὸν πολίτην Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔτυχε πρᾴως; μέγα μέρος ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας, τὸν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνέξικακίαν ποιέμενον. Ibid.

q Ut parentum ſævitiam, ſic patriæ, patiendo ac ferendo leniendam eſſe. Liv. lib. 37. n. 34.

brought up in the boſom of philoſophy, could have
ſibly acquired ſo perfect a knowledge in the art of
Thus great men are formed; which we ca
inculcate too much into youth deſigned for the a
the ſervice of the ſtate, or any employment in ge
whatſoever, as ſeveral of them are apt to look
ſtudy as uſeleſs, and almoſt diſhonourable. [r] Tul
his third book *de Oratore* gives a long liſt of the
illuſtrious officers in Greece, who were all very i
trious to improve their minds by the ſtudy of th
ences, and philoſophy in particular. Among
were Piſiſtratus, Pericles, Alcibiades, Dion o
racuſe, whom we ſhall ſpeak of by and by, T
theus the ſon of Conon, Ageſilaus, and Epami
das. 'Tis a great misfortune for perſons raiſed t
ferments and the adminiſtration of publick affai
enter upon them, as Tully expreſſes it, naked
unarmed, *i. e.* without knowledge, under ſtan
or almoſt any tincture of the ſciences that ador
cultivate the mind. [s] *Nunc contra plerique ad h
adipiſcendos, & ad rempublicam gerendam nudi v
atque inermes, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla ſ
ornati.*

II. *The Deliverance of Syracuſe.*

Two very illuſtrious men were engaged in reſt
liberty to Syracuſe, Dion and Timoleon. Th
laid the foundations, and the ſecond entirely fi
that great work.

I. Dion.

I queſtion whether among the lives of illuſt
men left us by Plutarch, there is one more bea
and curious than that of Dion; but there is cer
none which ſhews more the value of a good e
tion, and of what great advantage the converſati
men of learning and virtue may be. I ſhall co

[r] Lib. 3. de Oratore, n. 137, 141. [s] Ibid. n. 13

myself chiefly to this point, by making some reflections on such circumstances in the life of Dion as relate to it.

Reflection the first.

The conversation of men of learning and probity very useful to Princes.

Dion was brother to Aristomache, the wife of the elder Dionysius. A kind of chance, or rather, says Plutarch, a peculiar providence, which laid the foundations of the liberty of Syracuse at a distance, led Plato thither, the prince of philosophers. Dion became his friend and disciple, and improved very much by his lectures. For tho' educated in slavish principles under a tyrant, and habituated to a cowardly and servile subjection; tho' bred up in pomp and pleasures, and accustomed to a kind of life, which made all happiness consist in voluptuousness and magnificence; he had no sooner heard the discourses of this philosopher, and tasted of that philosophy which leads to virtue, than he found his soul enflamed with the love of it.

The second Dionysius succeeded his father at an age, when, as [t] Livy says of another King of Syracuse, he was so far from being able to govern with wisdom, that he was scarce capable of using his liberty with moderation. He was no sooner upon the throne, than the courtiers took pains to get the ascendant of him, and beset the young prince with continual flatteries. Their whole employment was to find out every vain amusement for him, to engage him continually in feasting, the company of women, and all other shameful pleasures. Dion, being fully of opinion that all the vices of the young Dionysius proceeded

[t] Puerum, vix dum libertatem, necdum dominationem, modicè laturum. Læti id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitiâ acceperunt. Liv. lib. 24. n. 4.

only from his bad education, endeavoured to introduce him into good converſation, and give him a taſte of diſcourſe, capable of improving his manners. To this end he prevailed upon him to ſend for Plato to his court. And though the philoſopher had no great inclination for the journey, as expecting no great benefit from it, he could not reſiſt the earneſt ſolicitations which were made him from all parts. He therefore came to Syracuſe, and was received with extraordinary marks of honour and diſtinction.

Plato found the moſt happy diſpoſitions in the world in the young Dionyſius, who gave himſelf up without reſerve to his lectures and advice. But as he had very much improved himſelf by the inſtructions and example of his maſter Socrates, the moſt ſkilful man that ever the Pagan world produced for inſtilling a taſte for truth, he was careful to manage the young tyrant with wonderful addreſs, declining to oppoſe his paſſions directly, labouring to gain his confidence by kindneſs and inſinuation, and ſtudying to make virtue at once amiable to him, and victorious over vice, which holds men only in chains by the allurements, pleaſures, and delights it lays before them.

The change was ſudden and ſurpriſing. The young Prince, who had wallowed till then in idleneſs, ſenſuality, and the conſequential ignorance of every duty, awakening as it were from a lethargy, began to open his eyes, to diſcern the beauty of virtue, to have a taſte for the pleaſures and joys of a ſolid and agreeable converſation, and gave himſelf up as eagerly to the deſire of being taught and inſtructed, as before he was averſe to it, and abhorred it. The court, which is the ape of Princes, and conforms univerſally to their inclinations, entered into the ſame ſentiments. All the rooms of the palace were like ſo many ſchools of geometry, covered with the duſt the geometricians uſed in tracing their lines; and in a little time the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the moſt ſublime ſciences, became the general and prevailing taſte.

The

The great advantage of theſe ſtudies, with reference to a Prince, is not only the ſtoring his mind with an infinity of very curious, uſeful, and often neceſſary branches of knowledge, but alſo the withdrawing him from a ſtate of idleneſs, and indolence, and the vain amuſements of a court; the inuring him to a life of ſerioufneſs and application; the raiſing a deſire in him of being inſtructed in the duties of royalty, and becoming acquainted with ſuch as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, the enabling him to govern by himſelf, and ſee every thing with his own eyes, that is, to be truly a King. But this will be always oppoſed by courtiers and flatterers, as was now the caſe of Dionyſius the younger.

Reflection the second.

Flatterers, the fatal peſt of courts, and ruin of Princes.

What Tully ſays of flattery with relation to friendſhip, is no leſs true with reference to the courts of Princes, that it is a moſt mortal poiſon. [u] *Sic habendum eſt, nullam in amicitia peſtem eſſe majorem, quam adulationem.* [w] By flatterers he means falſe and double minded men, of an eaſy and pliable diſpoſition, who like Poteus put on a thouſand different forms as occaſion offers, attentive only to pleaſe the Prince, conſtantly employed in ſtudying his taſte and inclinations, and reading his deſires in his countenance, never laying before him any offenſive truth, contradicting him in nothing, and talking always the ſame language with him. Guards, ſays an ancient writer, are ſet round the palaces of Kings to keep off enemies leſs dangerous than flattery. [x] It deceives the centinels, enters not only into the cabinet, but the heart of a

[u] De amicit. n. 91.
[w] Ibid. n. 91, 93.
[x] Sola quippe hæc (adulatio) nequicquam vigilantibus ſatelliti-bus imperium deprædatur; regumque nobiliſſimam partem, animam nimirum, aggreditur. Syneſ. de regno.

Prince, and is industrious to deprive him of what is most precious and essential to his happiness; I mean, a wise and equitable spirit, the discernment of truth and falsehood, the love of justice and publick good.

[y] It is not surprising that a young Prince like Dionysius, who would have found it difficult to have stood his ground with the most excellent disposition, and amidst the best examples, should at last give way to so great a temptation in a court that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but in vice, and surrounded with a multitude of flatterers, who were continually praising and commending him. They began with ridiculing the retired life he was made to lead; and the studies to which he applied himself, as if calculated to make a philosopher of him. They went farther, and took pains to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected and even odious to him, by representing them [z] as troublesome reformers and haughty pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which was neither fit for his age or condition. At last Dion and Plato, under different pretexts, and at different times, were banished the court, which abandoned itself again to every kind of excess and riot.

We see from hence how difficult it is for a Prince to escape the snares that are laid for him by the concurrence of a small number of persons, in the first places or employments about him, and interested to favour each other, to conceal from him part of what he ought to know, and to agree upon certain points, notwithstanding their separate interests, jealousies, and secret hatred, that they alone may be sole masters of affairs, may engross the Prince's confidence, and keep him a kind of prisoner, within the narrow circle they have drawn around him. *Claudentes principem sensu, & agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

y Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum in certaminibus vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quælibet probi mores servarentur. Tacit. annal. lib. 14. cap. 57.

z Tristes & fugere hortatores, & vitæ censores publicos perosi. Senec. ep. 123.

REFLEC-

REFLECTION THE THIRD.

The great qualities of Dion intermixed with ſome ſlight faults.

It is difficult to find ſo many excellent qualities in one ſingle perſon, as in the Prince we are ſpeaking of. Greatneſs of ſoul, noble ſentiments, generoſity in diſtributing his fortune, heroick courage in the field, joined with uncommon temper and prudence, and a vaſtneſs of mind, capable of the largeſt views, a reſolution unſhaken in the greateſt dangers and moſt ſudden changes of fortune, a love for his country and the publick good carried almoſt to an exceſs, were part of the virtues of Dion. He imbibed the precepts of philoſophy with an ardour of which Plato ſays he had ſeen but few inſtances; and he ſtudied it, not out of curioſity or vanity, but to know his duty, and make it the rule of his conduct.

Though paſſionately addicted to philoſophy, the ſtudy of it never diverted him from his duty, [a] as he knew how to contain his paſſion for it within due bounds. After Dionyſius had obliged him to leave Syracuſe and Sicily, he led the moſt agreeable life in his exile that can poſſibly be imagined for a man that had once taſted the pleaſures of ſtudy; enjoying in tranquillity the converſation of philoſopers, aſſiſting at their diſputes, and making a conſiderable figure amongſt them thro' his excellent genius and the ſolidity of his judgment; viſiting the cities of learned Greece, to collect in them, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the flower of the men of genius, and to conſult the ableſt politicians, leaving every where behind him the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and reſpected by all that knew him,

[a] Retinuitque, quod eſt difficillimum, ex ſapientia modum. Tacit. in vit. Agric. n. 4.

and receiving extraordinary honours wherever he paſſed, which were paid ſtill more to his merit than his birth. 'Twas from ſo pleaſing a life as this that he tore himſelf to aſſiſt his country, which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of tyranny, under which it had long groaned.

A bolder attempt perhaps was never formed, nor at the ſame time ever met with greater ſucceſs. He ſet out with no more than eight hundred men, and two merchant ſhips, to engage with ſo formidable a power as that of Dionyſius. "Who would have "thought, [b] ſays an hiſtorian, that a man with two "merchant ſhips would have been able to dethrone "a Prince, who had four hundred ſhips of war, an "hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, proviſion of arms and corn in proportion, and as much "treaſure as was requiſite to maintain and pay ſo "numerous an army, who beſides this was maſter of "one of the greateſt cities in Greece, with ports, arſenals, and impregnable forts, and ſupported and fortified by a great number of very powerful allies? "The cauſe of Dion's great ſucceſs was his magnanimity and courage, and the affection borne him "by thoſe, whoſe liberty he was to procure."

But what I find moſt beautiful in the life of Dion, moſt worthy of admiration, and, if I may be allowed to ſpeak ſo, moſt ſuperior to the common ſentiments of mankind, is that greatneſs of ſoul and unheard-of patience, with which he bore the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens. He had left all to come to their aſſiſtance, he had brought the tyranny to its laſt gaſp; and was upon the point of reſtoring them to their full liberty. And as a reward for ſo many ſervices, they ſhamefully expel him their city in company of a ſmall handful of ſoldiers, whoſe fidelity they could not corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add the moſt cruel abuſes to their treachery. And tho' he wanted no more to revenge himſelf of thoſe ungrateful re-

[b] Diod. Sic. Hiſt. lib. 16.

bels,

ſels, than to give the word, and deliver them up to the indignation of his ſoldiers; having a like command over them as himſelf, he checks their impetuoſity, and without diſarming them lays a reſtraint upon their juſt reſentment, not allowing them in the very heat and fire of battle to do more than intimidate his enemies without killing them; becauſe he conſidered them ſtill as his fellow-citizens and brethren.

He ſaid upon another occaſion, "that officers uſually paſſed their days in the exerciſe of arms, and "in learning the art of war; that for his part he had "ſpent a long time at Athens in the academy, to learn "there how to conquer wrath, envy and revenge; "that to be civil and obliging to one's friends and men "of probity was no mark of having conquered our "paſſions; but to behave with humanity towards "thoſe who have done us wrong, and to be always "ready to pardon them.——It is true, he ſaid, "according to human laws, 'tis admitted to be more "excuſable to revenge ourſelves of ſuch as have in"jured us, than to be the firſt in doing wrong to "others. But if we conſult nature, we ſhall find "that both theſe faults have but one root, and that "there is as much weakneſs in revenging an injury, "as in firſt committing it."

All the wrongs and ingratitude of his country were not capable of making any abatements in his zeal. After various changes of fortune he reſtored its liberty, and expelled the tyrants. But he had not the pleaſure of enjoying the fruit of his labours. A traitor formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and aſſaſſinated him in his own houſe. His death involved Syracuſe in new misfortunes.

I think we cannot charge Dion with any more than one fault; he had ſomething rough and ſevere in his temper, which rendered him unſociable and difficult of acceſs, and kept men of the greateſt probity and his beſt friends too much at a diſtance. Plato had often put him in mind of this failing. He had even endeavoured

deavoured to correct it by bringing him particularly acquainted with a philoſopher of a chearful and facetious diſpoſition, and very capable of inſpiring him with kind and obliging ſentiments. He afterwards reminded him of it by a letter, wherein he ſays, [c] "Conſider, I beg of you, that you are accuſed of wanting good-nature and affability; and always remember, that the moſt certain means to make affairs ſucceed, is to render one's ſelf agreeable to thoſe with whom we have to treat. [d] Haughtineſs baniſhes friends and companions, and reduces a man to live in ſolitude." [e] Notwithſtanding he was blamed for his too great auſterity and uſing an inflexible ſeverity towards the people, he was never obſerved to depart in the leaſt from it, either from being naturally averſe to the arts of inſinuation and perſuaſion, or that in the deſign he had of correcting and reforming the Syracuſians, who were ſpoiled and corrupted by the adulation and complacency of their orators, he thought him-

[c] Ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ καὶ ὅτι δοκεῖς τισὶν ἀνδρὶ σεμνῷ τοῦ πρεσήκοντος δεῆσαι πιστικῆς εἶναι· μὴ οὖν λανθανέτω σε ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἀγέσκειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἔρχεται.

[d] Ἡ δ' αὐθάδεια ἐρημία ξύνοικος. This thought of Plato's is extremely beautiful, but not ſo obvious at firſt ſight. M. Dacier has tranſlated it thus. *Haughtineſs is always the compaſſion of ſolitude*; which carries with it no idea, or rather preſents one directly oppoſite to reality. For it is falſe, that haughtineſs is always alone. A ſingle man, with no body about him, is little ſuſceptible of it, and has no opportunity of ſhewing it. This vice requires witneſſes and ſpectators. This therefore is not Plato's meaning; who intends to ſay, that haughtineſs drives away the reſt of mankind; that it removes thoſe from us with whom we ought to live in the greateſt union; whereas affability gains great men abundance of followers, and makes them live in a manner amidſt a multitude of perſons, even ſuch as are ſtrangers and unknown, who gladly approach them, and take pains to attach themſelves to them; whereas haughtineſs makes a deſert around them, puts all to flight, and reduces them to as great a degree of ſolitude, as though they were in a wilderneſs, and by that means deprives them of the aſſiſtance of the perſons they ſtand in need of for the ſucceſs of their affairs. Ἡ δ' αὐθάδεια, ἐρημία ξύνοικος, *Haughtineſs reduces a man to ſolitude.*

[e] Ἀλλὰ φύσει τε φαίνεται τῷ τὸ πιθανὸν δυσπειθέστερον πεφυκέναι, ἀποστῶν τε τὰς συμπνοίας· ὃ καὶ πειθοῦς καὶ διαλεγομένου πρὸς συμμάχους. Plut. in vit. Dion.

ſelf

ſelf obliged to a more reſolute and manly behaviour.

Dion was miſtaken in the moſt eſſential point of governing. From the throne to the loweſt office in the ſtate, whoever is to command and direct others, ought principally to ſtudy the [f] art of gaining the affections of mankind, of moulding and turning them at pleaſure, and conciliating them to our own views; which can never be effected by domineering over them, by haughtily commanding them, or barely pointing out their duty to them with a rigid inflexibility. There is a ſteadineſs and reſolution, or rather an obſtinate ſeverity, even in the purſuit of virtue, and the exerciſe of all employments, which is apt to degenerate into vice, when carried too far. I own we are never allowed to bend the rule; but it is always commendable, and often neceſſary, to ſoften and make it more tractable; which is principally done by an obliging and inſinuating behaviour; by not rigorouſly inſiſting upon the performance of the moſt minute circumſtance of duty; by overlooking ſuch little faults as ſcarce deſerve notice; and remonſtrating mildly upon thoſe that are more conſiderable; in a word, by endeavouring by all poſſible means to gain the love of others, and to render virtue and duty agreeable.

II. Timoleon.

Timoleon, who was a native of Corinth, compleated at Syracuſe what Dion had ſo happily begun; and ſignalized himſelf in that expedition by amazing exploits of valour and wiſdom, which made him equal in glory to the greateſt men of his age. After he had obliged Dionyſius to quit Sicily, he recalled all the citizens, whom the tyrants had baniſhed into different countries; he got together ſixty thouſand of them to re-people the deſerted city; he divided the lands

[f] This is what an ancient poet regina rerum oratio. Cic. Lib. 2. called, flexanima atque omnium de Divin. n. 80.

among

among them, gave them laws, and eſtabliſhed a form of civil government in conjunction with commiſſioners from Corinth; he cleared all Sicily of tyrants, with which it had been long infeſted, reſtored peace and ſecurity in all places, and ſupplied the cities ruined by the war with all things neceſſary for re-inſtating themſelves.

After ſuch glorious actions, which had gained him unlimitted credit, he voluntarily renounced his authority, and paſſed the reſt of his life at Syracuſe as a private man, enjoying the grateful ſatisfaction of ſeeing ſo many cities, and ſuch multitudes of people indebted for their tranquillity and happineſs to him. But he was ever reſpected, and conſulted as the common oracle of Sicily. There was no treaty of peace, no new law, no diviſion of lands, no regulation of policy made without Timoleon's being concerned in it, and giving the laſt hand to it.

In his old age he had the trial of a very ſevere affliction, which he bore with an aſtoniſhing patience; I mean the loſs of his ſight. This accident was ſo far from diminiſhing the people's conſideration and reſpect that they had for him, that it ſerved only to augment them. The Syracuſans were not ſatisfied with paying him frequent viſits; but carried all ſtrangers that travelled amongſt them to his houſe either in town or country, to ſhew them their benefactor and deliverer. If any matter of moment was to be debated in the publick aſſembly they called him to their aſſiſtance; and as for him, he came in a chariot drawn by two horſes through the *forum* into the theatre, and entered the aſſembly in the ſame chariot amidſt the ſhouts and joyful acclamations of the whole people. When he had given his opinion, which was always religiouſly obſerved, his ſervants carried him back in his chariot acroſs the theatre, the whole people re-conducting him beyond the gates of the city with the like acclamations and applauſes.

They paid him ſtill greater honours after his death. His funeral was ſolemnized with the utmoſt magnificence, and the greateſt ornament of it was the tears and bleſſings beſtowed by the people upon the deceaſed, which were not the effect of mere cuſtom and decency, but proceeded from a ſincere affection and the moſt cordial gratitude. They farther made an ordinance, that every year for the future upon the day of his death, games of muſick, wreſtling, and horſe-races ſhould be celebrated in honour of his memory.

Nothing ever was more conſummate than what hiſtory tells us of Timoleon. I don't mean only his great exploits in the field, and the good ſucceſs of all his enterprizes: What I admire moſt in him is his warm and diſintereſted love for the publick good, reſerving to himſelf only the pleaſure of ſeeing others happy by his ſervices; his freedom from all inſolence of power and pride of worth, his retirment into the country, his modeſty, moderation, declining of honours, and what is ſtill more extraordinary, his averſion to all flattery, and even for the juſteſt praiſe. [g] When at any time mention was made of his wiſdom, his valour, and the glory he had acquired in expelling the tyrants; he only replied, that he thought himſelf highly indebted to the Gods, for making choice of him to be the miniſter of their will, when they determined to reſtore the peace and liberty of Sicily; for he was thoroughly perſuaded, that all human events were directed and governed by the ſecret orders of divine Providence.

I cannot conclude this article concerning the government of Sicily, without deſiring the reader to compare the happy and peaceable old age of Timoleon, who was eſteemed, honoured, and beloved by

[g] Cùm ſuas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quàm ſe in ea re maximas diis agere gratias atque habere, quòd, cùm Siciliam recreare conſtituiſſent, tum ſe potiſſimum ducem eſſe voluiſſent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum ſine deorum numine agi putabat. Cornel. Nep. in Vit. Timol. cap. 4.

every

every body, with the miſerable life of the tyrant (I mean the father) who was ally haunted with terror and apprehenſion ror and execration of the publick. [h] I whole courſe of his reign, which laſted thirty years, he wore a cuiraſs of braſs unde He never made a ſpeech to the people, bu top of a tower. And not daring to rely u his friends or kindred, he took foreigners to guard him, going abroad as ſeldom a his fear obliging him to condemn himſel of perpetual impriſonment. That he mig his life and throat in the hands of a barbe his daughters ſhave him, who were then ve and when they were grown up, he took and razor out of their hands, and taug ſinge off his hair and beard with nut-ſhells laſt did this office himſelf, evidently no rely any longer upon his own daughters. went by night into the apartments of his w out cauſing them to be thoroughly ſear with great care. His bed was encompa very large and deep entrenchment, havi bridge, which opened a paſſage to it. A well bolted and barred the doors of his he raiſed this bridge, that he might flee [k] Neither his brother, nor his ſon, were to come into his chamber without char clothes, and being ſearched by the guard life of ſuch continual jealouſy and terror h called reigning, or even living? [l] A King, deſerves that name, needs no guards bu and the outward ſplendor of Majeſty, [m]

[h] Cic. lib. 5. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 58, 62.

[i] Lib. 2. de Off. n. 25.

[k] Plut. in vit. Dion.

[l] Princeps, ſuis beneficiis tutus, nihil præſidio eget: arma ornamenti cauſa habet. Sen. lib. 1. de Clem. cap. 13.

[m] Quod tutius quàm illud, quod armis munitur? Quis ſecum ille, quem non metuunt ſubditi? S

In the midſt of his own family, ſees none but his own children, wherever he goes, viſits none but his friends, and is always in a country committed to his care and tenderneſs, whilſt all his ſubjects, inſtead of fearing him, are only afraid for him.

What compariſon, [n] ſays Tully in one of his books of Tuſculan Queſtions, is there between the wretched and fearful life of Dionyſius the tyrant, and that of Plato, Archytas, and a great many other philoſophers, who lived at the ſame time? This Prince in the midſt of pomp and grandeur, condemned by his own choice to a kind of dungeon, excluded the converſation of all good men, paſſed his life with ſlaves, wretches, and Barbarians, regarding every man as an enemy, who ſet a juſt value upon liberty, employed only in murder and bloodſhed, and ſpending his days and nights in continual terror. The others, united by the ſame ſentiments of happineſs and taſte of ſtudy, formed amongſt themſelves the moſt pleaſing and agreeable ſociety that can poſſibly be imagined, exempt from all care and uneaſineſs, and knowing no other pleaſure than what ariſes from the contemplation of truth, and the love of virtue, wherein theſe philoſophers placed the whole happineſs of man.

[o] 'Twas in their ſchool, and from their converſations, that Dion had imbibed theſe principles and ſentiments, which he endeavoured to inſtil into the young Dionyſius, exhorting him to govern his ſubjects with humanity and tenderneſs, as a good father governs his family. "Conſider, ſaid he, that the chains "which ſupport and ſtrengthen a monarchical go- "vernment, and which your father boaſted he had "made as hard to break as adamant, are neither fear "nor force, as he imagined, a great number of gal- "lies, nor a guard of thouſands of Barbarians; but "the affection, love and gratitude, which the virtue "and juſtice of Princes raiſe in the hearts of their "people; and that chains formed by ſuch ſentiments,

[n] Lib. 3. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 63, 66. [o] Plut. in vit. Dion.

"though

" though more gentle and leſs heavy than others ſo
" hard and ſtiff, are however much ſtronger with re-
" guard to duration, and contribute more firmly to
" the ſupport of the ſtate: That beſides a Prince is
" neither honoured, nor eſteemed, for being richly
" apparelled, for his furniture or retinue, or for ſpend-
" ing his days in luxury and pleaſures, if he has no
" advantage in point of reaſon and underſtanding
" over the leaſt of his ſubjects, and is ſo wholly em-
" ployed in the decoration of his body apartments,
" as to neglect adorning the palace of his mind as
" becomes the majeſty of a King."

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Of the Roman Hiſtory.

HOW prejudiced ſoever Livy may ſeem in favour of the people, whoſe hiſtory he writes, we cannot deny but the high encomium he gives them in the beginning of his work is very well grounded; and it muſt be owned with him, that there never was a republick more powerful, or governed with greater juſtice, or more abundant in glorious examples; where avarice and luxury were later introduced, or where poverty and frugality were had in ſo great honour during ſo great a length. *Cæterum*, ſays Livy, *aut me amor negotii ſuſcepti fallit, aut nulla unquam reſpublica nec major, nec ſanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam tam ſeræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tamdiu pauperta-ti ac parſimoniæ honos fuerit.*

Providence, having ſhewn in Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander, with what eaſe it ſubverts the greateſt empires, and erects new ones, was pleaſed to eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh one of a very different kind, which ſhould in no reſpect reſemble the impetuoſity of the former, or be owing to thoſe tumultuous circumſtances, wherein chance ſeemed to have a greater ſhare than wiſdom; an empire, which was to increaſe by juſt degrees and proportions, which ſhould conquer by method and grow ſtrong by the wiſdom of counſels and patience; whoſe power ſhould be the fruit of every human virtue, and which in all theſe particulars ſhould deſerve to become the model of every other government. With this view ſuch diſtant foundations were laid as were ſufficient to ſupport the mighty edifice deſigned to be raiſed upon them. Providence had made preparations for it by a long ſucceſſion of great men, and a chain of ſingular events, which the heathen world could not avoid admiring, and over which they were forced to own the divinity preſided. [p] Livy in the beginning of his hiſtory ſays, that the original and foundation of the greateſt empire in the world could be no other than the work of the fates, and the effect of the peculiar protection of the Gods. [q] He makes Romulus declare, as ſoon as he is admitted into heaven, that it is the will of the Gods that Rome ſhould become the capital of the univerſe, and that no human power ſhould be able to withſtand it. [r] He induſtriouſly enumerates the prodigies which from the firſt foundation of the city announced its future greatneſs, and takes notice of a kind of ſecret inſtinct and certain foreſight of the power, for which it was intended, in ſeveral of thoſe who governed it at firſt. [s] Laſtly, Plutarch ſays in expreſs terms, that whoever conſiders the conduct and actions of the Romans with

[p] Debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantæ origo urbis, maximique ſecundum deorum opes imperii principium. Liv. lib. 1. n. 4.

[q] Abi: nuncia Romanis, Cœleſtes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum ſit——Sciantque, & ita poſteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis reſiſtere poſſe Ibid. n. 16.

[r] Inter principia condendi hujus operis, (Capitolini moviſſe numen ad indicandum tanti imperii molem traditur deos Ibid. n. 55.

[s] Plut. in vit. Romul.

the

the leaſt attention, muſt clearly diſcover, t
could never have attained to that height of g
did, if the Gods had not taken care of them
beginning, and there had not been ſomething
lous and divine in their original. And in
place, which in my opinion is well worth
t he attributes that incredible rapidity of c
which aſtoniſhed the univerſe, not to the
human prudence and valour, but to the ſpe
tection of the gods, whoſe favour, like an ir
wind, in the ſwift progreſs of ſucceſſes, ſ
haſte to augment and extend the Roman po

It is of the hiſtory of this people that I am
dertaking to give ſome idea. To this end I
duce only ſome ſelect pieces of it, as I have
ready in treating the hiſtory of the Greek
ſhall chuſe ſuch as will beſt explain the char
ſpirit of the Roman people, and which pr
greateſt virtues and moſt excellent examples.
alſo add ſome reflections, to ſhew youth in wh
ner they may make the beſt advantage of w
read.

The firſt piece of this hiſtory ſhall trea
foundation of the Roman empire by Rom
Numa; the ſecond of the expulſion of the K
the eſtabliſhment of liberty; the third ſhall
larger, though it takes in but the ſpace of ab
years, from the beginning of the ſecond Pun
to the defeat of Perſeus King of Macedon;
which the greateſt events in the Roman hiſt
pened; and the fourth and laſt ſhall be of th
ing the Roman republick into a monarchy,
in a particular manner by Polybius in his hi

t Ἡ ἐπιρία τῶν πραγμάτων πιμπῇ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς εἰς τοσαύτην ταχυτερίνης ἐπιδίδοσαν δύναμιν καὶ αὔξησιν ἐρμῆς, ὡ χείρων ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἑρμαῖς πρέ- χορῦσαν πρημονίαν, ἔτι δὲ

tort. Rom.

THE FIRST PIECE. *Of the Roman Hiſtory.*

The foundation of the Roman empire by Romulus and Numa.

WE find all the principles and foundations of the Roman greatneſs united in Romulus and Numa, the cauſes of its riſe and continuance, the maxims of its policy, the rules of its government, the peculiar genius of its people, and the ſpirit, with which it was animated, in its whole conduct, and in all its different circumſtances for above twelve hundred years. 'Twas in theſe two reigns the Roman people imbibed the peculiar and ſingular characters by which they were afterwards diſtinguiſhed with ſo much glory and ſucceſs: and which took ſo deep root, that they ſurvived without alteration, not only during the time of the Kings and of the republick, but under the Emperors, and even to the diſſolution of the empire.

THE FIRST CHARACTER OF THE ROMANS.

Valour.

One of the prevailing characters of the Romans was, that they were a warlike, enterpriſing, victorious people, devoting themſelves entirely to the profeſſion of arms, and preferring the glory ariſing from military expeditions to every thing beſides. Their founder Romulus ſeems to have inſpired them with this diſpoſition. This Prince, brought up from his infancy to the laborious fatigues of hunting, and accuſtomed to contend with robbers, obliged afterwards to defend the privileges of the aſylum he had opened, and having no other ſubjects in his new kingdom than a band of reſolute, deſperate, and ſavage fellows, who had no hopes of ſecurity for their perſons but in force, and having

having no poſſeſſions, were able to ſubſiſt only by the ſword; this Prince, I ſay, was wont to have always the ſword in his hands, and paſſed his reign in ſucceſſively making war upon the Sabines, the Fidenates, the Veians, and all the neighbouring people.

He placed military courage in great honour, by the frequent victories he gained, and his own perſonal exploits. And the glory, with which he was twice ſeen to enter Rome, bearing a trophy at the head of his conquering troops, amidſt a large train of captives, and the acclamations of all the people, gave place to the triumphs which were introduced in after-ages, and were at the ſame time a moſt powerful incentive to the ambition of the generals, and the higheſt pitch of grandeur to which they could aſpire. Romulus was no leſs careful to animate the courage of the common ſoldiers by rewards and different military honours, than by the allurement of the conquered lands, which he divided among them.

The second Character of the Romans.

Prudent meaſures taken for extending their empire.

Another great character of the Romans conſiſts in the wiſe meaſures they always took for extending and aggrandizing their empire, whereof Romulus had ſet them an example. This Prince, perſuaded that the power of a ſtate conſiſted in the multitude of its ſubjects, made uſe of two expedients for augmenting the number of his.

The firſt was the moderate and prudent uſe he made of his victories and conqueſts. Inſtead of treating the vanquiſhed as his enemies, according to the cuſtom of other conquerors, by cutting them off, plundering them of their effects, reducing them to ſlavery, or forcing them by the ſeverity of the yoke impoſed upon them to hate the new government, he looked upon them

them all as his natural ſubjects, made them live with him in Rome, communicated to them all the privileges of the ancient citizens, adopted their feaſts and ſacrifices, left the way open for them indifferently to all civil and military employments; and by all theſe advantages making the good of the ſtate a common intereſt, he attached them to it by ſuch powerful and voluntary ties, as they were never after tempted to break through.

The Romans, having always at heart a tacit preſcience of the grandeur to which they were deſtined, punctually obſerved this maxim of profound and beneficial policy. We know it was uſually the general himſelf, who had conquered a city or a province, that became the protector of them, that pleaded their cauſe in the ſenate, that defended their rights and intereſts, and forgetting his title of conqueror, remembered only that of patron and father, to treat them all as his clients and children.

The ſecond expedient employed by Romulus was not to diſdain the admiſſion of ſhepherds, ſlaves, and men of no ſubſtance or family, into the number of his ſubjects and citizens. [u] He knew the beginnings of cities and ſtates, as of all other human things, were weak and obſcure, and that the founders of ſtates had thence taken occaſion to feign, that their firſt inhabitants were the offspring or ſons of the earth. He received therefore all fugitive into his aſylum, whom the love of liberty, and proſecutions for debts or other reaſons, obliged to ſeek a retreat. This firſt conceſſion, joined to the feaſt of the Saturnalia, which Numa afterwards inſtituted, in which the maſters admitted their ſlaves to a ſhare in the ſame entertainment, and lived with them in a ſtate of perfect equality, inſpired the Romans with greater mildneſs and good-nature

[u] Urbes quoque, ut cætera, ex infimo naſci: deinde, quas ſua virtus ac dii juvent, magnas ſibi opes magnumque nomen facere. . . . . Adjiciendæ multitudinis cauſa, vetere conſilio condentium urbes, qui obſcuram atque humilem, conciendo an ſe multitudinem, natam è terra ſibi prolem mentiebantur: aſylum aperit. Liv. lib. 1. n. 8, 9.

newed and ſtrengthened. By the ſame m
were repaired, and the places of the anc
extinct by the accidents of war ſuppl
were always found ready within itſelf to
gions, and ſubjects capable of diſchargi
ployment of peace and war; and when
with too great numbers, it was enable
numerous ſwarms to live at a diſtance,
powerful colonies upon its frontiers, wh
bulwarks againſt the enemy, and ſecu
conqueſts.

By continually incorporating foreigner
ing them into citizens and members of
communicated to them its manners, ma
noble ſentiments, and zeal for the publ
giving them a ſhare in its power, adv
glory, it formed a conſtant flouriſhing
ſupported and aggrandized from without

"The Romans always avoided the ca
Pericles, though otherwiſe one of the gr
cians that ever Greece had, in declarir
ſhould be held as natural and true Atheni
as had both Athenian fathers and moth

body of the ſtate, and parts of the republick, according to the principles of the Romans, he ſoon ſaw them take off their new yoke, and aſſert their liberty.

[x] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus juſtly looks upon the cuſtom introduced by Romulus of incorporating the conquered cities and nations into the ſtate, as a moſt excellent maxim of policy, and what principally contributed to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of the Roman grandeur. He obſerves, that it was the contempt or ignorance of this maxim, which ruined the power of Greece, diſabled Sparta from recovering itſelf after the battle of Leuctra, and loſt the Thebans and Athenians the empire of Greece for ever after that of Cheronea; whereas the Roman republick has been ſeen to ſurvive the moſt bloody defeats, and to ſend new armies into the field ſtill more numerous than thoſe they had loſt.

The Emperor Claudius, in an excellent diſcourſe he made to the Senate to juſtify his having granted the privileges of Roman citizens to the people of Gaul, has judiciouſly obſerved,[y] that what ruined the republicks of Lacedæmon and Athens was the extreme difference they made between their own citizens and the conquered ſtates; treating the laſt always as foreigners, keeping them always diſtinct from the community, and thereby preventing them from having any concern in the good of the publick; whereas the founder of Rome, by a far more profound policy, incorporated the people he conquered into the number of his citizens, and on the very day he had fought againſt them as enemies, received them as members of the ſtate, admitted them to all the privileges of

[x] Κράτιστον ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων ὑπάρχον, ὃ καὶ τῆς βεβαίας Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθερίας ἔχεται, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀναγόντων οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν παρέσχε. Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2.

[y] Quid aliud exitio Lacedæmoniis & Athenienſibus fuit, quanquam armis pellerent, niſi quòd victos pro alienigenis arcebant? At conditor noſter Romulus tantum ſapientia valuit, ut pleroſque populos eodem die hoſtes, dein cives habuerit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 11. cap. 24.

natural ſubjects, and engaged them out of int
defend the very city, which they had lately att

It was principally by this means, as we have
obſerved, that the largeſt empire, that ever was
up a body, whoſe parts were all united far m
affection than fear. The Romans had colonie
countries, and the people of all the provinces w
mitted to ſhare in the government of the ſtate
out almoſt any difference between them and t
querors. * The two Gauls were filled with c
families. The civil and military employment
alike ſupplied by Romans and the natives of the
try. S. Auguſtine ſomewhere obſerves, that a
thage it was hard to diſtinguiſh between the fi
the conquered, her citizens and thoſe of Rom
ing all things ſo much in common, and the g
ment ſo equally ſhared between them both.

This principle of policy, ſo conſtantly obſer
the Romans in all ages, is very worthy our atte
and may be of great uſe to us. Haughtineſs a
verity ſerve only to keep up a dangerous diviſion,
will break out upon the firſt occaſion. Good
ment on the contrary makes a conqueror be
gains the affections of the new government, obli
ancient grudges, and as a conquered people ſer
nerally as a frontier, their fidelity becomes a
and ſurer barrier than all bulwarks whatſoever

THE THIRD CHARACTER OF THE ROM

Their wiſe deliberations in the Senate.

The third character is the wiſdom of the S
which began under Romulus to aſſume a fixe

* Cetera in communi ſita ſunt: (ſaid Cerealis, general of the Roman armies to the citizens of Treves and Langres) Ipſi plerumque legionibus noſtris præfidetis: ipſi has aliaſque provincias regitis. Nihil ſeparatum cla ——— Proinde pacem & quam victi victo: eſq ue eo: obtinemus, amate, colite. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 74.

ſettled form. [a] The ſenate was the publick council of the nation always ſubſiſting, not compoſed of arbitrary members, but made up of perſons choſen out of the moſt conſiderable families. The ſenators intereſted by their fortunes and dignities in the ſucceſs of the government, and capable of governing wiſely through their age and experience, held the balance even between the ſovereign authority of the Prince, and the weakneſs of the people, and ſupplied a number of magiſtrates, well formed and prepared for the greateſt employments by an excellent education, and replete of knowledge and ſentiments ſuperior to the vulgar. They were called *Fathers*, *Patres*, that on the one ſide they might remember they were placed in a high ſtation, and held a rank of diſtinction, in order to their being the protectrs of the people, whoſe advantage they ought to procure with the vigilance, zeal, and the diſintereſtedneſs of a parent; and on the other hand, that the people might be reminded of the reſpect and affection they were obliged to bear them, and the confidence they ought to have in their counſel, credit and protection.

This ſenate was in all after-ages the firmeſt ſupport, the principal ſtrength, and greateſt refuge of the ſtate, even under the Emperors. We all know the famous ſpeech of Cineas, whom Pyrrhus ſent on an embaſſy to the Romans. Upon his return he told his maſter, the grandeur and majeſty of the Roman ſenate was ſuch [b], that they ſeemed to him like an aſſembly of

a Majores noſtri, cum regum poteſtatem non tuliſſent, ita magiſtratus annuos creaverunt, ut conſilium Senatus reipublicæ præponerent ſempiternum: deligerentur autem in id conſilium ab univerſo populo, adituſque in illum ſummum ordinem omnium civium induſtriæ ac virtuti pateret. Senatum reip. cuſtodem, præſidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt. Hujus ordinis auctoritate uti magiſtratus & quaſi miniſtros graviſſimi conſilii eſſe voluerunt: Senatum autem ipſum proximorum ordinum ſplendore confimari, plebis libertatem & commoda tueri atque augere voluerunt. Cic. Orat. pro Sext. n. 137.

b Quem qui ex regibus conſtare dixit, unus veram ſpeciem Romani ſenatus cepit. Liv. lib. 9. n. 17.

Kings. [c] The glory and duration of the Empire (ſays the Emperor Otho upon occaſion of an inſurrection, wherein he was apprehenſive for the ſenate) does not lie in buildings nor in outward magnificence. Whatever is but material is a trifle; it may be deſtroyed and repaired, without any eſſential alteration. But to ſtrike at the authority of the ſenate, is to attack the being of the ſtate and the ſafety of the Prince.

I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the ſenate in another place, when I ſhall more particularly enquire into the form of government eſtabliſhed in the Roman republick.

THE FOURTH CHARACTER.

The ſtrict union of all the parts of the ſtate.

The Roman people were at firſt no other than a confuſed multitude, made up of the tumultuous and accidental union of ſeveral perſons, of different characters and intereſts, inclinations and profeſſions, and full of jealouſies and animoſities. To put an end to this diverſity ſo prejudicial to the ſolid eſtabliſhment of the ſtate, Romulus began with dividing his citizens into tribes and legions. [d] And Numa afterwards, ſtriking more deeply at the root of the evil, aſſembled all of the ſame trade and buſineſs, and formed them into companies, by aſſigning them peculiar feſtivals and ceremonies, that by theſe new engagements of religion and pleaſure, they might be induced to forget the difference of their ancient original.

[e] But nothing contributed ſo much to the ſettling a perfect concord in this infant ſtate, as the right of patronage eſtabliſhed by Romulus; becauſe by thus join-

c Quid? Vos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus & tectis, & congeſtu lapidum ſtare creditis? Muta iſta & inanima intercidere ac reparari promiſcua ſunt: æternitas rerum, & pax gentium, & mecum veſtra ſalus incolumitate ſenatus firmatur. Tacit. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 84.

d Plut. in vit. Num.

e Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2.

ing

ing the patricians with the plebeians, the rich with the poor, in very ſtrict and ſacred ties, he ſeemed to make but one family of the whole people. The firſt were called patrons or protectors, and the others clients. The patrons were engaged by their very name to protect their clients upon all occaſions, as a father does his children; to aſſiſt them with their advice, their intereſt and their care; to manage and carry on their ſuits, if they had any; in a word, to do all kind of good offices for them. The clients on the other hand paid the utmoſt honours to their patrons, reſpected them as ſecond fathers, contributed out of their ſubſtance to the portions of their daughters in caſe they were poor, to redeem their children if taken captive by the enemy, and to ſubſiſt them if fallen under any diſgrace. We have already obſerved that in the latter ages, not only particular perſons, but whole cities and provinces, were put under the protection of the great men of Rome.

This union of the citizens, as Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus obſerves, thus formed from the beginning, and carefully cemented by Romulus, was afterwards ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that for above ſix hundred years, though the republick was continually torn by the inteſtine diviſions, which ſubſiſted ſo long between the ſenate and people, they never came to an open rupture, or engaged in a civil war; [f] but their diſputes, how warm and violent ſoever, were always amicably compromiſed, upon the remonſtances made on both ſides; each party mutually complying with the other, and making ſome abatements of their rights or pretenſions.

[f] Πείθονῖες ἢ διδάσκοντες ἀλλήλους ἢ τὰ μὲν εἴκοντες, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἑκόντων λαμβάνοντες, πολιτικὰς ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλύσεις. Dion. Hal. lib. 2.

The fifth Character.

Love of ſimplicity, frugality, poverty, labour and agriculture.

One of Numa's firſt cares, after he came to the crown, was to inſpire his new ſubjects with the love of that labour, ſimplicity, and poverty, which were ſo long practiſed and eſteemed among the Romans. The manner of his advancement to the throne gave him a right to recommend all theſe virtues ſtrongly to his citizens.

[5] Numa generally reſided at Cures, his native city, and the capital of the Sabines, from whence the Romans, after their union with that nation, were called *Quirites*. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and had beſides improved his mind by the ſtudy of all the ſciences that were known in his age, and eſpecially philoſophy, which had a great ſhare in his whole conduct. His delight was the country and ſolitude, and there he employed himſelf in tilling the ground, and ſtudying the wonders of Divine Power in the works of nature.

Whilſt he was enjoying this pleaſing retirement, the Roman embaſſadors came to tell him, that the two parties which divided Rome were at laſt united in the choice of him for their King. This news troubled, but did not diſcompoſe him. He repreſented to them how dangerous it was for a man, who was happy and content with the life he led, to paſs on a ſudden to one directly oppoſite to it. "I have been brought up, "ſays he to them, in the ſevere diſcipline of the Sa- "bines; and, except the time I ſpend to ſtudy and "know the Deity, I am wholly taken up in agricul- "ture and feeding my flocks; if they think they "ſee any thing valuable in me, it muſt be qualities "which ſhould keep me at a diſtance from a throne;

[5] Plut. in vit. Num.

"the

" the love of eaſe, a life of retirement and application " to ſtudy, an extreme averſion for war, and a great " fondneſs for peace. Would it be right for me to " enter into a city, which reſounds in all quarters " with the noiſe of arms, and breathes nothing but " war; and attempt to teach a people veneration for " the Gods, the love of juſtice, the hatred of war " and violence, who ſeem to be far more deſirous of " a general than a King?"

Numa's refuſal ſerved only to make the Romans redouble their ſolicitations. They preſſed and conjured him not to involve them again in a freſh ſedition, which muſt inevitably end in a civil war, as he was the only perſon upon whom the two parties could agree.

When the embaſſadors were withdrawn, his father and Martius his kinſman uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon him to accept of the crown. " Tho' " you think it, ſaid they, no pleaſure to lay up great " riches, becauſe you are ſatisfied with a little; nor " have any ambition to command, becauſe you enjoy " a greater and more real glory, which is that of vir- " tue: yet conſider that to reign well, is paying God " the homage and worſhip which is moſt agreeable to " him. 'Tis God who calls you to the throne, as " not caring to let the talent of juſtice, he has bleſſed " you with lie idle and uſeleſs. Do not therefore de- " cline the acceptance of the royal dignity, as it opens " to a wiſe man the vaſteſt field for great and glorious " actions. By this means the Gods may be nobly " ſerved, and the minds of men inſenſibly civilized, " and inclined to the duties of religion; for ſubjects " naturally conform to the manners of their Princes. " The Romans loved Tatius, though he was a fo- " reigner, and have conſecrated the memory of " Romulus by the divine honours they now pay him. " Who can tell whether this victorious people is not " tired of war? and whether, enriched as they are with " ſpoils and triumphs, they do not deſire a Prince of

" moderation and juſtice, who may govern them " peaceably under good laws and a mild adminiſtra- " tion? But tho' they ſhould continue as fond of war " as ever, is it not better to divert the fury of their " paſſion by taking the reins into your hand, and " uniting your country and the whole nation of the " Sabines with ſo powerful and flouriſhing a city, by " the ties of amity and friendſhip?"

Numa could not reſiſt ſuch ſtrong and wiſe remonſtrances, and immediately ſet forward on his journey. The ſenate and people of Rome went out to meet him with a wonderful deſire of ſeeing him. The opinion they had long conceived of his probity, was very much increaſed by the account the embaſſadors had given them of his moderation. [h] They conceived a man muſt be exceedingly diſcreet, that was capable of refuſing a ſceptre, and could look with indifference and contempt upon what the reſt of mankind conſidered as the height of all human grandeur and happineſs.

Numa preſerved the ſame virtues upon the throne which he had brought to it. So far as decency would admit it in his ſtation, he lived with the ſame ſimplicity and modeſty as in private life. He was a perfect model of royal virtue, and tempered the majeſty of the Prince with the moderation of the philoſopher, or rather heightened it by an additional ſplendor, in making it more amiable and of greater force. Contented to attract reſpect by his truly royal qualities, he baniſhed all the vain appearances of greatneſs, which only impoſe upon the ſenſes, and his virtue did not want. He lived without pomp, without luxury, and without guards. On the very day that he came to the crown, he diſcharged the cohort which Romulus had always about his perſon, [i] declaring, that he would neither diſtruſt thoſe who placed a confidence in him, nor command men who diſtruſted him.

[h] Dionyſ. Halic. lib. 2. [i] Οὔτε γὰρ ἀπιστῶν πιστεύσειν, ὅτε βασιλεύειν ἀξιοῦντων ἔφη, Plut.

He

He then divided the conquered lands among the poor citizens, to divert them from injuſtice by the lawful fruits of their labour, and to inſpire them with the love of peace by the cares of agriculture, to which it is neceſſary. He reſtrained and lulled their over-earneſt paſſion for war by the pleaſures of a quiet life and uſeful employments. That he might attach them to the cultivation of their lands by a concern for their own intereſt, he diſtributes them into boroughs, gives them inſpectors and overſeers, viſits often himſelf their labour in the field, judges of the maſters by the work, raiſes ſuch to employments, as he found to be laborious, diligent and induſtrious, and reprimands the ſlothful and negligent. And by theſe different means, ſupported by his own example, and confirmed by his perſuaſion, he raiſed huſbandry to ſo great honour, [k] that in after-ages the generals of the army and principal magiſtrates were ſo far from conſidering country buſineſs as below them, that they gloried in cultivating their fields with the ſame victorious and triumphant hands which had ſubdued their enemies; and the Roman people were not aſhamed to confer the command of their armies, and entruſt the ſafety of the ſtate to thoſe illuſtrious huſbandmen, whom they had taken from the plough, and obliged to quit the care of their lands to aſſume that of the ſtate.

[l] Scipio Africanus, after he had conquered Hannibal,

[k] Pluribus monumentis Scriptorum admoneor, apud antiquos noſtros fuiſſe gloriæ curam ruſticationis: ex qua Quintius Cincinnatus obſeſſi Conſulis & exercitûs liberator, ab aratro vocatus ad dictaturam venerit: ac rurſus, faſcibus depoſitis, quos feſtinantiùs victor reddiderat quàm ſumpſerat imperator, ad eoſdem juvencos & quatuor jugerum avitum bæreditolum redierit. Itemque C. Fabricius & Curius Dentatus, alter Pyrrho finibus Italiæ pulſo, dom is alter Sabinis, accepta quæ viritim dividebantur captivi agri ſeptem jugera non minùs induſtriè coluerit, quàm fortiter armis quæſierat. Et ne ſingulos intempeſtivè nunc perſequar, cùm tot alios Romani generis intueat memorabiles duces hoc ſemper duplici ſtudio floruiſſe; vel defendendi vel colendi patrios quæſitoſque fines. Columella de re ruſt. lib. 1.

[l] In hoc angulo ille Carthaginis horror Scipio, abluebat corpus laboribus ruſticis feſſum: exercebat enim opere ſe terramque (ut mos fuit priſcis) ipſe ſubigebat. Senec. epiſt. 86.

broke up the ground himſelf, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, planted and grafted his trees, and did all country buſineſs. Every body knows how much the elder Cato, ſurnamed the Cenſor, applied himſelf to agriculture, about which he has even left behind him ſome directions. [m] Tully in his beautiful oration in favour of Roſcius, is extremely ſevere againſt the accuſer of his client, for departing from the manners of the ancients, and urging againſt Roſcius his retirement into the country, as an evident proof of his father's hatred for him; ſince by the ſame principle he might have reflected upon the honour and probity of Attilius, whom the Roman embaſſadors found actually in the field employed in ſowing his lands. "Our "anceſtors, ſays he, had a very different way of "thinking; and by ſuch a conduct raiſed the repub- "lick from a weak and low condition to ſo powerful "and flouriſhing a ſtate. They carefully cultivated "their own lands, without coveting thoſe of their "neighbours through mean and inſatiable avarice; "and by that means enriched the republick and en- "larged the Roman empire with ſuch a number of "lands, cities and nations."

But this love of labour and a country life did not only contribute to the conqueſts and grandeur of the Roman empire, it alſo ſerved to ſupport for ſo many ages thoſe noble ſentiments that generoſity, and diſintereſtedneſs, which rendered the Roman name ſtill more illuſtrious than all their moſt famous victories.

m Næ, tu, Eruci, accuſator eſſes ridiculus, ſi illis temporibus natus eſſes, cùm ab aratro arceſſebantur qui conſules fierent. Etenim, qui præeſſe agro colendo flagitium putes, profecto illum Attilium, quem ſua manu ſpargentem ſemen, qui miſſi erant, convenerunt, hominem turpiſſimum atque inhoneſtiſſimum judicares. At hercule majores noſtri longe aliter & de illo & de cæteris talibus viris exiſtimabant. Itaque ex minima tenuiſſimaque republica maximam & florentiſſimam nobis reliquerunt. Suos enim agros ſtudioſe colebant, non alienos cupide appetebant: quibus rebus & agris, & urbibus, & nationibus, rempublicam, atque hoc imperium & populi R. nomen auxerunt. Cic. Orat. pro S. Roſc. Amer. n. 50.

For

For it muſt be owned, [n] there is a very near relation between this innocent country life and wiſdom, of which it is in a manner the ſiſter; [o] it may juſtly be looked upon as an excellent ſchool of ſimplicity, frugality, juſtice, and all the moral virtues.

Numa brought up in this ſchool, inſpired not only his own ſubjects, but the neighbouring cities, with the ſame taſte and ſentiments, as Plutarch obſerves in the beautiful deſcription he has left us of his reign. For the Romans were not the only people, that were calmed and civilized by the juſtice and pacifick diſpoſition of this excellent King, but all the cities round about, in which, as if a gentle gale had breathed upon them from Rome, there might be diſcerned an admirable change of manners, and inſtead of an eager paſſion for war, a fervent deſire of living in peace, of cultivating their lands, of educating their children in tranquillity, and ſerving the gods in quiet. Nothing was to be ſeen throughout the country but entertainments, diverſions, ſacrifices, feſtivals, and rejoicings at one another's houſes, without any apprehenſion or umbrage, as if the wiſdom of Numa had been a rich ſource, from whence virtue and juſtice had flowed into the minds of the different people, and diffuſed into their hearts the ſame tranquillity that reigned in his.

In ſhort, during the whole reign of Numa there was not the leaſt appearance of war, or diſpoſition to revolt; and the ambition of reigning never led any perſon to conſpire againſt him. But, whether the reſpect for his eminent virtue, or the fear of the Deity which protected him, diſarmed guilt; or that heaven by a ſingle favour took a pleaſure in preſerving that happy reign from every attempt that might ſully the glory or diſturb the joy of it, his was a proof

[n] Res ruſtica, ſine dubitatione, proxima & quaſi conſanguinea ſapientiæ eſt. Colum. de re ruſt. lib. 1.

[o] Vita ruſtica perſimoniæ, diligentiæ, juſtitiæ magiſtra eſt. Orat. pro Roſc. Amer. n. 75.

and example of that great truth, which [p] Plato ventured to pronounce long ſince, when ſpeaking of government, he ſays, [q] *Cities and men will never be free from evils, till by the peculiar favour of the Gods, ſupreme power and philoſophy uniting in the ſame perſon, render virtue victorious over vice.* For the wiſe Prince is not only happy, but makes thoſe happy alſo, who hear the words he utters. He has ſcarce ever occaſion to make uſe of force or menaces to reduce his ſubjects, who having ſo illuſtrious a model of virtue continually before their eyes in the life of their Prince, are naturally inclined to imitate him, and lead a happy and unblameable life with him, which is the beſt effect of a wiſe government; as on the other ſide, the moſt ſolid glory of a Prince is to be able to inſpire his ſubjects with ſo noble an inclination, and to lead them to a life of ſuch perfection; which no body ever knew better how to do than Numa.

I have thought myſelf obliged to expatiate a little upon the reaſons of Numa for refuſing the crown; the motives which induced him to accept of it; the excellent rules he obſerved in his government; and the beautiful deſcription that Plutarch gives of the wonderful effects of his reign, founded upon juſtice, and the love of peace. This character is great and almoſt ſingular in hiſtory; and I think it the duty of a maſter to give his ſcholars a juſt ſenſe of the paſſages, which abound with ſuch fine ſentiments, and are ſo proper at the ſame time to form both the heart and the underſtanding.

p. Lib. 5. de Rep.

q. Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii & doctrinæ Plato, tum denique fore beatas reſpublicas putavit, ſi aut docti & ſapientes homines eas regere cœpiſſent, aut, qui regerent, omne ſuum ſtudium in doctrina ac ſapientia collocaſſent. Hanc conjunctionem videlicet poteſtatis & ſapientiæ ſaluti cenſuit civitatibus eſſe poſſe. Cic. epiſt. 1. ad Quint. fratr. lib. 1.

THE

The sixth Character.

Wiſe Laws.

Numa underſtood from the beginning of his reign, that juſtice, which is the foundation of empires and all ſociety, was ſtill more neceſſary to a people nurtured in the exercise of arms, accuſtomed to ſubſiſt upon rapine, and to live without diſcipline and government. To ſoften the ferocity of their temper, and reduce ſo many different characters to an uniformity, he eſtabliſhed wiſe laws, and recommended the obſervance of them by his moderation and mildneſs, by ſetting an example of the greateſt virtues, and an unalterable love for equity as well towards foreigners as citizens. By this conduct he inſpired his ſubjects with ſo great a regard for juſtice, that he quite changed the face of the city. And ſo great was the zeal for obſerving ſuch uſeful and ſacred laws, and perpetuating the ſpirit of them, that we have conſtantly ſeen at Rome, even down to the lateſt Emperors, a continued tradition of the knowledge of their laws, a kind of ſchool of wiſe legiſlators and famous lawyers, who forming their deciſions upon the pureſt light of reaſon, and the ſureſt maxims of natural equity, have compoſed that body of law and the rights of mankind, which has become the admiration of all the world, and been adopted, or at leaſt imitated by all civilized nations, who have extracted from them the beſt part of their laws.

The seventh Character.

Religion.

The ſeventh character is a great reſpect for religion, and a faithful perſeverance in beginning every thing with it, and referring every thing to it. Romulus

mulus had already expreſſed a very high regard for religion, as Plutarch obſerves; but Numa carried it much farther, and applied himſelf to give it more luſtre and majeſty. He preſcribed the particular rules of it, ſet down at large all its exerciſes and rites, added the utmoſt ſolemnity to its ceremonies, and made the feſtivals as agreeable and attractive as poſſible. By theſe new ſpectacles of religion, and his frequent commerce with things ſacred, which ſeemed to render the Deity preſent in all places, he brought them to a more gentle diſpoſition, made them more tractable and humane, and inſenſibly changed their propenſity to violence and war into a love of juſtice and a deſire of peace, which are the beſt fruits of it. This habit of introducing religion into all their actions, influenced the people with ſo profound and conſtant a veneration for the Divinity, that from that time, and in all after-ages, they never created magiſtrates, declared war, gave battle, undertook any thing in publick or private, made no marriages, funerals, or journeys, without ſome act of religion. They care they took to build a temple to Faith, and to make her reſpected as the ſacred guardian of promiſes and engagements, and the inexorable avenger of the breach of them, kept the people ſo exactly to their words, that the obligation of an oath was never held more inviolable by any nation whatſoever.

Polybius and Livy give the Romans a glorious character in this reſpect. [r] Polybius ſays, that when once they had taken an oath, they kept it inviolably, without ſtanding in need of any ſecurity, witneſſes, or written contracts; whereas all theſe precautions were ineffectual among the Greeks. [s] The other obſerves,

[r] Δι' αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὅρκον πίστεως; τηροῦσι τὸ καθῆκον. Polyb. lib. 6.

[s] Deorum aſſidua infidens cura, cùm intereſſe rebus humanis cœliſte Numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac juſjurandum proximè legum ac pœnarum metum civitatem regerent. Et cum ipſi ſe homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent; tum finitimi etiam

obſerves, "that the different and continual exerciſes "of religion, eſtabliſhed by Numa, which gave the "Divinity ſo conſtant a ſhare in all human actions, "had poſſeſſed the citizens with ſuch a ſenſe of reli- "gion, that a word or an oath had no leſs weight and "authority at Rome, than the fear of the laws and "puniſhment. Nor did the Romans only aſſume "the character and peaceable diſpoſition of Numa, in "forming themſelves upon the example of their "King, as by a perfect model; but the neighbouring "nations, who before had looked upon Rome leſs "as a city than a camp deſigned to diſturb the peace "of all other people, conceived ſo high a veneration "for the Prince and his ſubjects, that they would "have thought it criminal, and in a manner ſacri- "legious, to have attacked a city ſo entirely devot- "ed to the worſhip and ſervice of the Gods."

In my entrance upon the Roman hiſtory, I thought it neceſſary to give firſt ſome idea of this famous people, whoſe principal characters, which rendered them ſo illuſtrious, and raiſed them to ſo great a ſuperiority above all other people, are ſo happily united in Romulus and Numa, the two founders of their empire. We hereby ſee, of what conſequence the firſt impreſſions are, not only with regard to private perſons, but to whole nations; for it is evident that theſe eminent virtues, which prevailed in the infancy of Rome, and were continually improving and increaſing in after-ages, were the occaſion of her conqueſts, and gained her the empire of the world. For, as [t] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus judiciouſly obſerves, it is an immutable law, and founded in nature itſelf, that whoever are ſuperior in merit, become ſo likewiſe in

etiam populi, qui ante caſtra, non urbem poſitam in medio ad ſollicitandam omnium pacem credideranr, in eam verecundiam adducti ſunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum verſam Deorum violari ducerent nefas. Liv. 1. lib. 1. n. 21.

[t] Φυσικὸς γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἅπασι κοινὸς, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἀναλύσει χρόνος· ἄρχειν ἀεὶ τῶν ἥττόνων τοὺς κρείττονας. Dion. Hal. lib. 1. Ant. Rom.

power

power and authority, and that the people who excel moſt in virtue and fortitude, ſooner or later will have the command over thoſe who have leſs.

The second Piece of Roman History.

The Expulſion of the Kings, and Eſtabliſhment of Liberty.

THE epocha of the expulſion of the Kings, and the eſtabliſhment of the liberty of Rome, is too conſiderable to be ſlightly paſſed over. This memorable event is the baſis of the moſt famous republick that ever was; it is the ſource of its proſperity, and of every thing great and wonderful admired in it. From thence the Roman people farther contracted two ſingular branches of their character; the one, an irreconcileable abhorrence of regal power, and whatever bore the leaſt appearance of it; and the other, a violent paſſion for their liberty, of which they were at all times extremely jealous, almoſt to an exceſs. The reciprocal moderation obſerved by the ſenate and people, is a third circumſtance, which well deſerves our obſervation.

Character the first.

Hatred of the Royal Dignity.

Several circumſtances and motives concurred to occaſion and confirm the implacable hatred they bore to regal power.

1. The diſcontent and averſion which the people of Rome had long conceived againſt the violence and tyrannical government of the Tarquins, at laſt broke out upon occaſion of the injury offered to Lucretia, and the fatal manner in which ſhe revenged the Prince's

Prince's crime upon herſelf, by killing herſelf with her own hands.

2. Theſe diſpoſitions were conſiderably improved by the aſtoniſhing reſolution of Brutus the conſul, who cauſed his own ſons to be beheaded in his preſence, for having entered into a conſpiracy to reſtore the Kings. The blood of two ſons ſpilt by their own father, to the dread and aſtoniſhment of all that beheld it, gave them a lively ſenſe how dreadful a calamity it muſt be to live under the yoke of the Tarquins, as it coſt ſo dear to redeem them from it. This bloody execution, and the tragical death of Lucretia, which were alike horrible to nature, impreſſed in all their minds ſo ſtrong an averſion to regal power, that even in after ages they could not bear ſo much as the ſhadow of it; but thought, that after the example of their anceſtors, they ought to ſacrifice whatever was moſt dear to them, and expoſe themſelves to the utmoſt hazards, rather than ſuffer an evil, which from their infancy they were taught to conſider as the greateſt and moſt inſupportable of all that could befal them.

3. By abandoning the King's treaſures to be plundered by the people, pulling down his palaces in town and country, devoting his fields near Rome to Mars, to make the reſtitution of them impoſſible, throwing the corn upon his lands into the Tyber, they made the rupture abſolutely irreconcileable; and the whole people, who had ſhared in the inſult and pillage, were ſenſible their only ſafety lay in an inflexible reſiſtance.

4. The ſanguine obſtinacy of the Tarquins in fatiguing the Romans with a long and ſevere war, and in ſtirring up all their neighbours againſt them, laid them under an abſolute neceſſity of defending themſelves to the utmoſt. Their repeated engagements, frequent battles, and the death of one of their conſuls, who was killed in the field with the moſt conſiderable of the citizens, kept up and enflamed their animoſity

animoſity, and made the fear and hatred of the royal authority grow into an habit. One may judge of the abhorrence they had for it from the beginning, by the anſwer they gave to the embaſſadors of King Porſenna, who earneſtly ſolicited the reſtoration of the Tarquins. [u] They declared they were rather diſpoſed to open their gates to the enemy than the Kings, and would ſooner chuſe to loſe their city, than they would their liberty.

5. The law, which to prevent any one from attempting to make himſelf maſter of the republick empowered all others to kill him before he was juridically condemned, provided that after his death they could produce an evident proof of his having entertained any ſuch deſign, ſeemed to arm every citizen indifferently againſt the common enemy, to conſtitute every private man a guardian of the publick liberty, and to make him reſponſible for its preſervation.

6. The heroick valour of Horatius Cocles, with the extraordinary rewards and honours he received, for ſingly oppoſing on the bridge the auxiliary forces of the Tarquins; the intrepid boldneſs of Scævola, who puniſhed his hand for having failed of his blow; the courage of Clelia and her companions; the triumphs decreed to Publicola and his brother Marcus upon account of the victories gained over the Kings; the funeral oration and ſolemn honours paid to Brutus as the father of liberty, and afterwards to Publicola in acknowledgment of his conſtant love for the republick; all theſe objects ſtill contributed to inflame their zeal for liberty, and hatred of tyranny; and as theſe great examples excited the admiration of all mankind, they inſpired them with an ardent deſire to imitate them.

[u] Ita inducti ſunt in animum, hoſtilibus potius quam regibus portas patefacere: eam eſſe voluntatem omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi ſit. Liv. 2. n. 15.

7. [w] The

7. [w] The ſolemn oath that the people took at the altars in their own name and the name of all their poſterity, that they never would, upon any pretext whatſoever, ſuffer the re-eſtabliſhment of the regal power, was in all after-ages as preſent to the people's minds, as if they had but lately thrown off the yoke of a ſevere and ſhameful ſlavery.

This averſion cemented with ſo much blood, and ſupported by ſuch powerful motives, was handed down from age to age, not only whilſt the republick ſubſiſted, but under the Emperors alſo, and could not be extinguiſhed but with the Empire. [x] The attempt of Manlius, in aſpiring to the crown, blotted out the remembrance of all his great actions, and occaſioned his being thrown down without pity from the ſummit of that very rock, which he had regained from the hands of the enemies. Nothing haſtened more the death of Cæſar than the ſuſpicion he had raiſed that he deſigned to have himſelf declared King. His ſucceſſors, beſides the tribunitian power, took the titles of Cæſar, Auguſtus, Chief Pontiff, Proconſul, Emperor, Father of their Country; but neither their own ambition, nor the flattery of the people ever preſumed to go farther, or ſpeak out plain. And though they were in poſſeſſion of as abſolute power as any King on earth; though ſome of them, as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla and Heliogabulus, carried the abuſe of ſovereign power ſo far as to exerciſe the moſt cruel tyranny; yet none of them ever ventured to aſſume the diadem, as it was judged the mark of a title, which had ſomething too odious in it for eight or ten centuries to

w Omnium primum avidum novæ libertatis populum, ne poſtmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis poſſet, jurejurando adegit (Brutus,) neminem Romæ paſſuros regnare. Liv. lib. 2. n. 1.

x Damnatum tribuni de ſaxo Tarpeio dejecerunt: locuſque idem in uno homine & eximiæ gloriæ monumentum, & pœnæ ultimæ fuit . . . . . Ut ſciant homines quæ & quanta decora fœda cupiditas regni, non ingrata ſolùm, ſed inviſa etiam reddiderit Liv. lib. 6. n. 20.

efface;

efface; and what is ſtrange and almoſt incredible, whilſt their impious religion permitted them to ſet up for Gods, a more reſerved policy forbad them to pretend to be Kings.

Character the second.

An exceſſive love of liberty, and a diligent application to extend its rights.

The whole body of the Roman republick conſiſted of two orders, which had each their particular magiſtrates, as well as their different intereſts, and were always oppoſite to each other. The one was called *the Senate*, and was the head and council of the ſtate; the other was the common people, called in Latin *plebs* or *plebes*, which was diſtinguiſhed from the nobility and the Patrician families. Theſe two orders joined together formed what was properly called the Roman people, *populus Romanus*; whoſe general aſſemblies were held either by centuries, and were named *centuriata comitia*, in which the ſenate had the greateſt power; or by tribes, *tributa comitia*, where the power of the people prevailed moſt.

This people, already elate from the frequent victories and conqueſts they had gained over their neighbours, conceived ſtill higher ſentiments, from the ſhare they had in the adminiſtration, and the conceſſions the ſenate were obliged to make them in the times immediately following the revolution.

Nothing was more capable of pleaſing this people, than the readineſs with which the conſul Publicola in one night cauſed his houſe to be pulled down to the ground, upon ſome murmurings againſt the height of its ſituation and the largeneſs of the building, which was looked on as a citadel.

The ſame Publicola, to remove what was moſt terrible in the conſular power, and make it more gentle and popular, cauſed the ax to be taken away in the city,

city, from the faſces which were carried before the conſul; [y] and when he ſhewed himſelf in an aſſembly of the people, he ordered that they ſhould be bowed down, as though he ſubmitted them to the people, and did homage to them for his authority.

He farther extremely augmented the power of the people and their immunities by the law, which allowed of an appeal to the people from the judgment of the conſuls and ſenate; by that which condemned thoſe to death who ſhould accept any office without receiving it from the people; by the law, which excuſed the poor citizens from paying taxes; and by that which exempted ſuch as were diſobedient to the conſuls from corporal puniſhment, and reduced the penalty of their diſobedience to a pecuniary mulct.

To advance the authority of the people ſtill farther, he thought fit to diſcharge himſelf of the cuſtody and management of the publick treaſure, and prohibited any of his relations and friends from meddling with it. He therefore depoſited it in the temple of Saturn, and allowing the people to chuſe two officers, who ſhould have the keeping of it, he gave them a great ſhare in the adminiſtration of the finances, which are the force of the ſtate, the ſtrength of the war, and the ſubſtance of rewards.

The people growing fond of being admitted into the adminiſtration, were careful ever after to loſe nothing of their ground; and they could not be more agreeably pleaſed, than by having an opportunity given them of enlarging their rights and prerogatives.

The ſtrongeſt barrier they oppoſed to the proceedings of the ſenate and conſuls, and the firmeſt ſupport of their credit and liberty, was the eſtabliſhment of

[y] Gratum id multitudini ſpectaculum fuit, ſummiſſa ſibi eſſe imperii inſignia, confeſſionemque factam populi quàm conſulis majeſtatem vimque majorem eſſe. Liv. lib. 2. n. 7.

the

the tribunes of the people, [a] which was one of the conditions of their reconciliation with the senate and their return into the city, after their withdrawing to the *mons sacer*. The person of these tribunes, who were properly creatures of the people, was declared sacred and inviolable. At first they created two, and afterwards they were multiplied to the number of ten. The Patricians were rendered absolutely incapable of this imployment; [a] and to disable them from influencing the election of the tribunes, it was ordered that all the plebeian magistrates should be nominated in the assemblies, which were held by tribes, wherein the senators had little authority. The violence and injustice of the decemvirs, which occasioned the second retreat of the people to the Aventine hill, gave occasion also to strengthen the tribunes with an additional power. It was decreed that the laws made by the people in the assemblies held by tribes should oblige all the Roman people, and consequently the senate as well as the rest; [b] which gave the tribunes a great authority; that they should create no magistrate, from whom it might not be allowed to appeal, and that every private man should be empowered to kill with impunity whoever should oppose this ordinance: that the person of the tribunes should be again declared more sacred and inviolable than ever. Their power in short extended very far, and reached even to the consuls themselves, whom they pretended they had a right to imprison, [c] as they publickly declared upon an occasion, when the senate had

[a] Agi deinde de concordia cœptum, concessumque in conditiones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Liv. lib. 2. n. 33.

[a] Volero tribunus plebis, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebei magistratus tribus comitiis fierent. Haud parva res, sub titulo primæ speciei minime atroci ferebatur; sed quæ patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent tribunos auferret. Ibid. n. 56.

[b] Qua lege tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Liv. l. 3. n. 55.

[c] Pro collegio pronuntiant, licere consules senatui dicto audientes esse: si adversus consentem amplissimi ordinis ultra tendant, in vincula se duci eos jubere. Liv. lib. 4. n. 26.

recourse

recourſe to their authority to reduce the conſuls to their duty, who refuſed to obey them.

After the people had thus confirmed their authority, they ſtill went on to form new projects, which the tribunes, out of zeal or complaiſance, did not fail to ſecond with great warmth. They ſpared no pains to open to themſelves the way to all poſts of dignity, and eſpecially the conſulſhip, which was the firſt office of the ſtate, in which the greateſt part of the publick authority reſided, and which was reſerved for the patricians alone. After long and hot diſputes, at laſt they obtained it, and upon the occaſion of a ſlight adventure. I beg leave here to tell the ſtory, as it is one of the moſt beautiful and moſt natural to be found in Livy.

[d] Fabius Ambuſtus had married his eldeſt daughter to Serv. Sulpicius a patrician, and the younger to a young plebeian, named Licinius Stolo. One day, as the latter was viſiting her elder ſiſter, and they were talking together, Sulpicius, who was then tribune of the ſoldiers with conſular power, coming home, the lictor ſtruck the door with the rod he carried in his hand, according to cuſtom, and made a great noiſe. The younger daughter, who was unacquainted with the cuſtom, having expreſſed ſome fright upon the occaſion,

[d] M. Fabii Ambuſti, potentis viri, filiæ duæ nuptæ, Ser. Sulpicio major, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat. —— Fortè ita incidit, ut in Ser. Sulpicii tribuni militum domo ſorores Fabiæ, cùm inter ſe (ut fit) ſermonibus tempus terent, lictor Sulpicii, cùm is de fóro ſe domum reciperet, forem (ut mos eſt) virgâ percuteret. Cùm ad id, moris ejus inſueta, expaviſſet minor Fabia, riſui ſorori fuit, mirante ignorare id ſorerem. Cæterùm is riſus ſtimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri ſubdidit: frequentiâ quoque proſequentium rogantiumque numquid vellet, credo fortunatum matrimonium ei ſororis viſum; ſuique ipſam malo arbitrio, quo à proximis quiſque minimè anteiri vult, pœnituiſſe. Confuſam eam ex recenti morſu animi cùm pater forte vidiſſet, percunctatus *ſatin' ſalvæ*, avertentem doloris cauſam (quippe nec ſatis piam adverſus ſororem, nec admodum in virum honorificam) elicuit, comiter ſciſcitando, ut fateretur eam eſſe cauſam doloris, quòd juncta impari eſſet, nupta in domo, quam nec honos nec gratia intrare poſſet. Conſolans inde filiam Ambuſtius, bonum animum habere juſſit: eoſdem propediem domi viſuram honores, quos apud ſororem viderat. Liv. lib. 6. n. 34.

her elder ſiſter laughed at her ſimplicity, and wondered ſhe did not know what it meant. As the ſmalleſt trifles often make an impreſſion upon the ſex, the younger Fabia was higher offended at the mirth of her ſiſter. The multitude of followers, who attended the military tribune, and expected his orders, without doubt made her conſider the fortune of her elder ſiſter as far ſuperior to her own; and a ſecret jealouſy, which is apt to occaſion an uneaſineſs at ſeeing our relations in a ſtation above us, made her repent of being married as ſhe was. Whilſt this uneaſineſs hung upon her, her father coming in and finding her very ſorrowful, deſired to know the reaſon. But as ſhe could not diſcover it, without ſeeming to want friendſhip for her ſiſter, and reſpect for her huſband, ſhe declined telling him for ſome time. Fabius at laſt, by kind expreſſions and careſſes, drew the ſecret from her, and ſhe ingenuouſly owned that the cauſe of her grief was the being married into a family, which was incapable of any poſt of honour or authority. Her father comforted her, and bade her not be uneaſy, for ſhe ſhould ſoon ſee the ſame dignity in her family, as made her think her ſiſter ſo happy. From that moment therefore he laboured to effect it, in conjunction with his ſon-in-law Licinius. Having aſſociated L. Sextius in their deſign, a young man of an enterprizing genius, who wanted nothing but the rank of patrician to entitle him to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate, they ſeized upon the favourable opportunity which the preſent conjuncture afforded them, and after ſeveral diſputes with the patricians, they at laſt forced them to admit the plebeians to the conſulſhip. L. Sextius was the firſt man upon whom this honour was conferred.

After this victory, nothing remained inacceſſible to the people. The offices of prætor, and cenſor, and even the dictatorſhip and prieſthood, were all offered and granted them; [e] the ſenate rightly judging, that

e Senatu, cùm in ſummis imperiis id non obtinuiſſet minùs in præturâ tendente. Liv. Lib. 8. n. 15.

after

after they had been reduced to grant them the conſulſhip, it would be to no purpoſe to diſpute any thing elſe with them. And thus the people, who were little leſs than ſlaves under the Kings, and clients without power under the patricians, became by degrees equal to their patrons, and their aſſociates in all the honours and employments of the commonwealth.

CHARACTER THE THIRD.

The reciprocal moderation of the ſenate and people in their diſputes.

The diſputes between the people and ſenate concerning publick employments continued very long, and were carried on with ſuch a warmth and vigour, as made them ſeem impoſſible to be terminated but by the ruin of one of the parties. The tribunes of the people, who were uſually very hot and paſſionate, perpetually animated the multitude by bitter invectives againſt the conſuls and ſenate. Upon the affair of prohibiting marriages between the patricians and the people, "Do you not ſee, ſaid they, in what con-"tempt you live? They would take from you, if they "could, a part of the very light of heaven. They "are in pain that you breathe the ſame air with them, "that you talk the ſame language, and have the ſame "figure of men, as they have. Can any thing be "more inſulting and diſgraceful, than to declare one "part of the city unworthy of being allied to the pa-"tricians, as though they were polluted and impure? "And as to dignities, has the republick any cauſe to "be diſſatisfied with the ſervice of the plebians in all "the offices confided to them? There is now nothing "wanting to them but the conſulſhip. And in that "for the future they ought to believe their ſafety "and liberty conſiſt; nor till they have obtained it, "can they hold themſelves really free, or that they

"have actually thrown off the yoke of ſervitude and "tyranny [f]."

The ſenators were ſometimes no leſs tranſported with violence and paſſion. [g] Whatever was granted to the people in confirmation of their liberty was looked upon as ſo much loſt to them. [h] And though they owned that the younger part of their body were frequently too warm and zealous, yet if one ſide or other was to go beyond the bounds of decency, they rather choſe to ſee the matter puſhed too far on the ſide of their faction, than on that of their adverſaries; ſo difficult it is, ſays Livy, in diſputes of this nature, where a perfect equality is pretended to be obſerved between the two parties, to keep the balance in ſo juſt an equilibrium as not to incline to one ſide more than the other; every one inſenſibly endeavouring to raiſe himſelf in order to depreſs his adverſary, and to make himſelf formidable, that he may be under no apprehenſion from him, as if there was no medium betwixt doing and receiving an injury.

[i] It muſt be owned however to the glory of the Ro-

[f] Ecquid ſentitis in quanto contemtu vivatis? Lucis vobis hujus partem, ſi liceat, adimant. Quòd ſpiratis, quòd vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indignantur. ——— An eſſe ulla major aut inſignior contumelia poteſt, quàm partem civitatis, velut contaminatam, indignam connubio haberi? Liv. lib. 4. n. 3, 4.

Nullius eorum (qui ex plebe creati ſint tribuni militum) populum Romanum pœnituiſſe. Conſulatum ſupereſſe plebeiis. Eam eſſe arcem libertatis, id columen. Si eò perventum ſit, tum populum Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges. & ſtabilem libertatem ſuam exiſtimaturum. Liv. lib. 6. n. 37.

[g] Quicquid liber ati plebis caveretur, id patres decedere ſuis opibus credebant. Liv. lib. 3. n. 55.

[h] Seniores patrum, ut nimis feroces ſuæ credere juvenes eſſe, ita malle, ſi modus excederet eſſet, ſuis quàm adverſariis ſupereſſe animos. Adeò moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum æquari velle ſimulando ita ſe quiſque extollit, ut deprimat alium, in difficili eſt; cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendes ultrò ſe efficiunt; & injuriam à nobis repulſam, tanquam aut facere aut pati neceſſe ſit, injungimus aliis. Liv. lib. 3. n. 67.

[i] Æternas eſſe opes Romanas, niſi inter ſemet ipſi ſeditionibus ſævient. Id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertum, ut magna imperia mortalia eſſent. Diu ſuſtentatum id malum, partim patrum conſiliis, partim patientiâ plebis. Liv. lib. 2. n. 44.

man

man people, that this diſpoſition, which ſeemed ready to have recourſe to the laſt extremities, and break out into bloody ſeditions, the uſual ſource and cauſe of the ruin of great empires, was long reſtrained and in a manner ſuſpended, partly by the wiſdom of the ſenators, and partly by the patience of the people; and for above ſix hundred years, as we have already obſerved, theſe domeſtick diſputes never degenerated into civil wars.

There were always grave and diſcreet men in the ſenate, zealous for the publick good [k], and alike avoiding the two oppoſite extremes, either of betraying the intereſt of the ſenate to gain the favour of the people, or of irritating and provoking the people by declaring too warmly for the ſenate, who managed ſo as to induce both parties to a reconciliation, and by prudent condeſcenſions to prevent the fatal conſequences, which too obſtinate a reſiſtance muſt have inevitably induced.

[l] They repreſented to their conſuls when too hot and violent, as Appius was, that they ſhould not attempt to carry the conſular power beyond the juſt bounds, which the common benefit of peace and concord required; that whilſt the tribunes and the conſuls were engaged in drawing over all they could to their ſeparate intereſts, the republick torn and divided was reduced to a languiſhing condition, both parties being more intent upon ruling than preſerving it. [m] They repreſented alſo to the tribunes, that it would be neither glorious nor advantageous to them to found and en-

k Alios conſules, ut per proditionem dignitatis patrum plebi adulatos, aut acerbè tuendo jura ordinis, aſperiorem domando multitudinem feciſſe; T. Quintium orationem memorem majeſtatis patrum concordiæque ordinum habuiſſe. Liv. lib. 3. n. 69.

l Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam conſularem majeſtatem eſſet vellet, quanta in concordi civitate eſſe poſſet. Dum tribuni conſulſeque ad ſe quiſque omnia trahant, nihil relictum eſſe virium in medio; diſtractam laceratamque rempublicam magis quorum in manu, fit, quàm ut incolumis ſit, quæri. Liv. lib. 2. n. 57.

m Ne ita omnia tribuni poteſtatis ſuæ implerent, ut nullum publicum conſilium ſinerent eſſe. Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita æquatas leges, ſi ſua quiſque jura ordo, ſuam majeſtatem teneat. Liv. lib. 3. n. 63.

large their authority upon the ruin of the ſenate, which was the publick council; and that the only means to eſtabliſh the liberty of Rome, to ſupport an equality among the citizens, was to maintain each order of the ſtate in its juſt rights and privileges.

The people on their ſide ſhewed ſometimes a ſurprizing temper and moderation, and behaved with a generoſity one would ſcarce think a multitude capable of; as may be ſeen in the following inſtance of an aſſembly, where they appeared at firſt more exaſperated than ever. The people ſeemed reſolved not to take up arms againſt the enemy, who were then in the field, unleſs they were admitted to have a ſhare in the government. The ſenate finding they muſt either ſubmit to the people or the enemy, after having given up the buſineſs of marriages to no purpoſe, judged it requiſite to do the ſame in regard to the publick employments; and having propoſed to nominate military tribunes inſtead of conſuls, they conſented that the plebeians ſhould be admitted to that employment. [a] The event proved, that after the heat and fire of the diſpute was over, and they were calm enough to judge of matters as they ought, that the people were quite different from what they were whilſt it ſubſiſted. For ſatisfied with the condeſcenſion of the ſenate, they nominated none but patricians to be military tribunes, with a moderation, ſays Livy, an equity, and greatneſs of ſoul, ſeldom found even in one man. *Hanc modeſtiam, æquitatemque, & altitudinem animi, ubi nunc in uno invenieris, quæ tunc populi univerſi fuit?*

[a] Eventus eorum comitiorum decuit, alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatiſque, alios ſecundum depoſita certamina incorrupto judicio eſſe. Liv. lib. 4. n. 6.

The END *of the* THIRD VOLUME.

CURIOUS SIGNS IN ENGLAND.—A correspondent of a London journal writes:

In traveling through Leicestershire I have observed several curious rhymes on publicans' signs.

The following are copies of three of them:

At a house called the "Cock" Inn, situated a few miles from Ashby, is the following:

"Cock-a-doodle-do,
How do you do,
Are you hungry or thirsty to-day?
If you are, you will find
That to you we'll prove kind,
If you'll stop, eat and drink and then pay."

Again, at a house in Carlton, near to the historical town of Market Bosworth, is a house called the "Gate" Inn, on the sign of which is:

"This gate hangs well
And hinders none;
Refresh and pay,
And travel on."

In Nottinghamshire I passed a house called "The Ass" Inn; here are the words:

"Pray, traveller, stay awhile
And look upon my sign;
If I'm an ass, you need not pass
This humble house of mine.

"Within I keep the best of fare—
Of eat, of drink and smoke,
So pray, stop here, and try my cheer,
And don't forget poor "Moke."

Some years ago there were five public houses in Gallowtree Gate in Leicester, viz: The "Bear," the "Angel," the "Three Cups," the "Three Tuns," and the "White Horse." In opposition to the others, the host of the latter house had the following rather witty lines inscribed upon his sign

"My 'White Horse' shall bite the 'Bear,'
And make the 'Angel' fly;
He'll turn the 'Three Cups' upside down,
And drink the 'Three Tuns' dry."

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, ex-rebel general and wife arrived in New York on Thursday.